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MID-AMERICA
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William Parks, Benjamin Franklin, and a Problem in Colonial Deism

The importance of William Parks as an early American printer, journalist, and literary impresario has received wide recognition from specialists in the field of colonial life and ideas; however, the precise significance of Parks' importance remains—or has until recently remained—without adequate definition.

The problem here has to do with the orthodoxy of Parks' religious beliefs in their context of American colonial culture. Miss Elizabeth C. Cook contended that the "Plain-Dealer" department of Parks' newspaper the *Maryland Gazette* imitated the *Spectator* and adapted Augustan thought and taste, sometimes rather daringly, to the narrowly conventional milieu of the colonies.[1] Lawrence C. Wroth, on the other hand, stressed the American qualities of the *Maryland Gazette.* In his biography of Parks, Wroth wrote:

> The Maryland people were quick to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the new journal. In its columns were soon to be found the usual discussions of politics and trade which fill the pages of the colonial newspapers, and it was not long before the essayists and the gentleman rhymesters of the place began to realize that it offered hospitality to their lucubrations. In this journal, and in the *Virginia Gazette,* which Parks established in 1736, historians find mirrors that hold in permanent reflection the life and thought of the two colonies.[2]

Recently, Professor Alfred Owen Aldridge has sought to show that in its "Plain-Dealer" papers the *Maryland Gazette* contains evidence of deism—evidence that would lead him to consider Parks as a

[1] Elizabeth C. Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704–1750,* New York, 1912, 153–162.
[2] Lawrence C. Wroth, *William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America,* Richmond, 1926, 20–21.

pioneer American deist, perhaps the first American deist as early as 1728.[3] In an article in *American Literature* I have opposed this view and have shown that the "Plain-Dealer" was not deistical in any sense of the term and that as far as his "Plain-Dealer" department is concerned, Parks cannot be considered a deist.[4]

There remains the question, nevertheless, whether the evidence of one journal, the *Maryland Gazette,* can prove conclusively that Parks was or was not a deist throughout his career. With this question and its implications the present essay deals, on the basis of available evidence.

Since Parks apparently did not write any detailed statement of his religious views for the benefit of posterity, as did Benjamin Franklin in the famous letter to President Ezra Stiles of Yale College, we must accept the more indirect indications that have come down to us. Who were Parks' associates? What were his published views? What sort of books did he print? In the answers to these questions, tentative as such answers occasionally may be, we shall find an answer to the large question of Parks' belief.

Coming from England, William Parks by the spring of 1726 had established a press at Annapolis. In 1727 he began his *Maryland Gazette.* By 1730 he had opened a printing shop in Williamsburg.[5]

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[3] Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Maryland Gazette," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLIV (September, 1949), 177–189.

[4] Nicholas Joost, " 'Plain-Dealer' and *Free-Thinker*: A Revaluation," *American Literature,* XXIII (March, 1951), 31–37. J. Forget ("Déisme," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* IV, 1, pp. 231–243) states that normal usage distinguishes between deism and theism as follows: "il a sanctionné et développé le côté affirmatif de l'un et le côté exclusif de l'autre; dans le théisme, il a accentué l'idée qu'implique la racine, et il a amené le déisme à signifier surtout la négation de quelque chose qui la dépasse; ici, l'attention se porte moins sur ce que le vocable énonce que sur ce qu'il ne dit pas et suppose absent. Aujourd'hui, le théisme est une théorie qui comporte l'existence d'un Dieu personnel, createur et providence; il s'oppose non seulement à l'athéisme, négation de Dieu, et au panthéisme, négation de la personnalité divine, mais au déisme. Celui-ci désigne tout système qui, un Dieu personnel supposé, rejette l'un ou l'autre de ses attributifs positifs et tout au moins Son action révélatrice." In the light of this clearcut definition, students of eighteenth century thought will hardly disagree with the assertion that Franklin did not live up to the spirit of Forget's deism. As Walter M. Merrill has pointed out (*From Statesman to Philosopher*: *A Study in Bolingbroke's Deism,* New York, 1949, 17) the deism of the Augustans in England is "readily analyzable into two aspects—one positive, the other negative." The positive aspect consists of the individual deist's "theories of Providence, miracles, evil, immortality, and finally, natural religion and ethics." The negative aspect consists of "a criticism of metaphysics and theology and of revelation." As with Bolingbroke, so with Franklin we find the two aspects of "deism"—and in them an inconsistent mingling of elements that Forget would term theist along with elements he would term deist.

[5] Wroth, 10–15.

During these years Parks not only expressed his literary taste and his ability as a journalist; also he rose to prominence as a printer. He was "Public Printer of Maryland;"[6] but it was in Virginia that "the most ambitious undertaking of any of the presses of William Parks" was printed, the edition of the compiled laws known as *A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly, now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia* (1733).[7]

During his years at Annapolis Parks printed much besides news and acts of the legislature. His belletristic imprints during this period included *The Mouse-Trap, or the Battle of the Cambrians and Mice* (1728), translated by Richard Lewis from Edward Holdsworth's Latin poem *Muscipula,* a satire on the Welsh; *Sotweed Redivivus, or the Planter's Looking-Glass* (1730), an imitation of Ebenezer Cook's *The Sotweed Factor* of 1708; and *The Maryland Muse* (1731), containing a poetical narrative of Bacon's Rebellion and a third edition of Cook's poem.

Early in his Virginia period Parks published at his Williamsburg press J. Markland's *Typographia, an Ode on Printing* (1730). In 1732 he printed at least three editions of *A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, and Justice Love-Country.* By Governor William Gooch, this ably written piece of propaganda ostensibly weighed both sides of the problem of passing a new law regulating the inspection of tobacco, but actually it was the work of an official in favor of the legislation under discussion. "In succeeding years Parks published Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists;* . . . various sermons, original and reprinted . . . primers, catechisms, almanacs and other works of usefulness. . . ."[8] In 1736 his Williamsburg press printed *Poems on Several Occasions* by "A Gentleman of Virginia," in reality William Dawson, then professor of moral philosophy at the College of William and Mary and later its president.[9]

In all this activity we see no evidence of deism. Actually, one of these volumes, the Rev. Charles Leslie's *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists Wherein, the Certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated by Infallible Proof from IV. Rules. . . In a Letter to a Friend,* was an Anglican clergyman's attempt to refute deism in

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6 *Ibid.*, 12–14, discusses this period of Parks' career.

7 *Ibid.*, 19; for a bibliography of Parks' imprints, see 37–70.

8 *Ibid.*, 22. See also Nicholas Joost, "Two American Editions of Leslie's 'Short and Easie Method,' " *Notes and Queries,* CXCVI (November 10, 1951), 496–497.

9 Harold Lester Dean, "An Identification of the 'Gentleman of Virginia'," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* XXXI (1937), 10–20.

Augustan England. Originally published in 1698, by 1701 Leslie's epistolary tract had gone into its third edition. In 1724 John Checkley, an Anglican printer residing in Boston, was tried and fined for having reprinted in 1723 the fifth edition of the *Short and Easie Method.* As Leslie was a conservative, non-juring clergyman and a well known polemicist, what Checkley was tried for in Boston was not heresy from the Establishment but reprinting the work of a notorious non-juror in a volume with an anti-dissenting and pro-Anglican tract entitled *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and His Apostles in the Church.* This argument for Episcopacy in New England was what infuriated Cotton Mather and other Puritan divines and brought Checkley to trial.[10] Like Checkley, Parks reprinted the fifth edition of Leslie's anti-deist work, in 1733. His printing it is indirect proof of his Anglican orthodoxy, inasmuch as he would hardly have printed such a book had he been known in Virginia as a deist.

Parks' religious and homiletic works in Lawrence Wroth's bibliography number only twenty-six for the years 1719-1750, in England and America, out of a total of 169 items in the bibliography and its appendix of additional titles. The majority of these items, however, are Parks' printing of acts of the Virginia Assembly and of addresses to that assembly or to the Royal Governor. The sum of his religious work thus becomes slightly more impressive when we remember that he was primarily an official printer and that any other work he did, whether almanacs, newspapers, or catechisms and religious tracts, would have to pay their costs and give him a profit in order to be worth his while. In all his career Parks stayed on the side of authority; if he printed controversial works, they were apt to be by men powerful enough to save him from trouble. In politics he worked with the governor; in religion he worked with the Established Church.

In general, Parks' associates seem to have been unexceptional in their beliefs, in that period before passions were exacerbated by the revolutionary conflict. William Dawson, as president of William and Mary, was an Anglican; Governor Gooch, as a Royal Governor, also had to profess the same religious tenets; indeed, Parks' only relationship that we may conceivably call into question because of a possible connection with heterodoxy, was with Franklin.

That Parks and Franklin were acquainted as brother craftsmen

[10] E. H. Gillett, ed., *The Speech of Mr. John Checkley upon His Trial at Boston,* Morrisania, New York, 1868, vii–xx.

and must have corresponded we know, but this knowledge should not lead us to conclude Parks guilty of deism through his association with Franklin. The facts are that Franklin helped Parks establish a paper mill for his Williamsburg press in 1742,[11] and that Franklin mentioned Parks as a reliable American printer and bookseller in two letters to England in 1747 and 1748.[12] These three dates leave unresolved, however, the problem of the Franklin-Parks relationship at three critical, and earlier, times.

The first of these is 1728, when Franklin "borrowed" wholesale, as was the eighteenth-century custom, Parks' "Plain-Dealer" department of the *Maryland Gazette,* for a department using the same name and contents in his own *Pennsylvania Gazette.* As we have already seen, this department it is that has caused comment by Miss Cook, Professor Aldridge, and myself. Of course, Franklin's use of material that Parks had similarly, and as free-handedly, borrowed from Ambrose Philips' London essay journal the *Free-Thinker* (1718-1721) proves his indebtedness to the Maryland printer rather than any deistic influence emanating from Philadelphia. It does suggest, nevertheless, that as fellow craftsmen Parks and Franklin knew one another at least by repute before 1730, and that Franklin may well have been modifying his deism of the youthful *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Plain* (1725) to the neo-Christian rationalism of his maturity.[13]

Analysis of the "Plain-Dealer" in the *Maryland Gazette* further clears Parks of any imputation of being a deist.[14] One preliminary point to be made in a discussion of the "Plain-Dealer" is that it was not a clever American imitation of a British literary type but rather was simply a reproduction, for colonial readers, of current British journalism. This point is important, for it corrects the notion that "although echoes of the newer papers can be heard in even the earliest American essays, the new style definitely appears

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[11] Rutherford Goodwin, "The Williamsburg Paper Mill of William Parks the Printer," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* XXXI (1937), 24–25.

[12] Albert Henry Smith, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* New York and London, 1905–1907, II, 355, 366.

[13] Bernard Faÿ, *Benjamin Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times,* Boston, 1929, 114–123. Faÿ analyzes what he pleases to call Franklin's "conversion" from "a code of ethics suited only to himself," 114–115. Alfred O. Aldridge has recently dealt with Franklin's early deism in "Benjamin Franklin and Philosophical Necessity," *Modern Language Quarterly,* XII (September, 1951), 292–309. For Franklin's later religious belief, see David Williams, "More Light on Franklin's Religious Ideas," *American Historical Review,* XLIII (July, 1938,) 803–813.

[14] Joost, " 'Plain Dealer' and *Free-Thinker,*" 37.

for the first time in the *Maryland Gazette.*"[15] The new style did appear in this journal, but it was the work of Ambrose Philips and his colleagues in England. Not merely is the "Plain-Dealer" less original than it has been held to be; except for the first paper of the series, it consists of direct and wholesale borrowing from a British source. Paradoxically, this indebtedness enables us to ascertain more precisely the point of view of William Parks. His political and philosophical tenets we now see as less "astonishing" than they have been alleged to be.

Viewed by the historian, the "deism" of the "Plain-Dealer" becomes part and parcel of the great Religion-of-Nature complex that in Protestant England culminated in Wordsworthian pantheism but that has always been, in purer form, incorporated as a matter of course in Catholic theodicy. The political scientist sees the *Free-Thinker* as a journal of admittedly "Revolution Principles," principles firmly established in the England of the 1720's, despite the occasional rumblings of subterraneous Jacobites.[16] In a nest of Popery, the Maryland colony, Parks was keeping those strangely passive corrupters of colonial order, the Maryland Catholics, in their places by printing certain *Free-Thinkers* precisely because these issues advocated opinions of the party then controlling the British empire. Throughout the early series of the *Maryland Gazette,* the editor agrees with official policy; and in line with this policy the paper gives an impression that Parks was covertly anti-Catholic. Under the circumstances, his choice of the title "Plain-Dealer" was, therefore, a wise one; *Free-Thinker* was too rationalist a title to be popular in relatively Catholic Maryland, while "Plain-Dealer," on the other hand, with its connotation of blunt, simple, pragmatic honesty, fitted well in a newspaper reporting the colony's political and economic affairs with a religious bias of loyal Protestantism. Again, *Free-Thinker* essays—products of Whig, latitudinarian, strongly anti-Catholic writers—metamorphosed into "Plain-Dealer" letters would be less easily traced to a possibly objectionable source. Finally, Parks could gain some modest renown as a writer without the burden of literary toil. Certainly, if we wish to ascertain Parks' published views, a knowledge of the source of the "Plain-Dealer" demonstrates more explicitly than could be shown formerly that in philosophy and literature the colonial taste of 1730 still reflected,

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[15] Cook, *Literary Influences,* 154.

[16] See *Free-Thinker,* No. 90, which declares that journal's adherence to the Whig policies successfully formulated in 1688 and triumphantly vindicated by the events of 1715.

without appreciable adaptation, British fashion of a slightly earlier period.

Interestingly, only the "Plain-Dealer" series has occasioned detailed comment on Parks' alleged deism. The *Maryland Gazette* as a whole and the *Virginia Gazette* apparently offer no such problem to the student of colonial culture. Indeed, they should not; the very title of *Gazette* implies a quasi-official status that would obviate sorties by a public printer into the dangerous realm of heterodoxy. The objection that Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* fails to answer these limitations is not to be admitted, for Franklin in his Philadelphia context did not occupy the unique position that Parks held in Maryland. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was, essentially, a competitive periodical despite its appropriation of an official title; the *Maryland* and *Virginia Gazettes* were in effect subsidized by the two colonies because Parks began as the only printer there, as well as the official printer.[17]

Some years later than the episode of the "Plain-Dealer" in both *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland Gazettes,* we find the paths of Franklin and Parks again crossing. By 1737, Parks found his Maryland press insufficiently profitable to demand his time. Accordingly, he "left Maryland completely to devote himself entirely to Virginia and its needs. Maryland was again without the benefit of a press."[18] The Provincial Assembly took action. In an act of April, 1737, wherein Parks was still described as "of the city of Annapolis," it was set forth against him that he had neglected to print the laws of the previous session, and that because of his neglect the Province had been put to the expense of having the laws of that session transcribed. As a consequence of Parks' defection, it was enacted that thereafter the counties should not pay him unless he should have delivered the printed laws within four months after the conclusion of each session.[19] Shortly after the Assembly passed this act of admonition, Parks settled in Williamsburg, having in the meantime rectified his shop there. In November, 1737, at the

[17] See Worthington Chauncey Ford's "Note," *The Virginia Gazette, 1736–1780,* Boston, 1925, i. Introducing this photostatted edition of the *Gazette,* Ford states that "In other colonies the *Gazette* was the government organ. . . . In Virginia this was wanting." But J. A. Osborne gives the needed correction to Ford's error and asserts that "at first, the *Gazette* was purely a court paper." See J. A. Osborne, *Williamsburg in Colonial Times,* Richmond, 1935, 1.

[18] Douglas McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States,* New York, 1936, II, 114.

[19] Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland,* Baltimore, 1927, 71.

close of a letter to a correspondent in Philadelphia, Governor Ogle of Maryland wrote that "as we have not a Press here at present, I have given Directions to the Bearer of this to get a good Number of Proclamations printed at Philadelphia."[20]

At this point in the story Franklin and a young New England Yankee, Jonas Green, appear. Lawrence Wroth makes the suggestion that in 1737 Green was working as a journeyman in Franklin's printing shop, and that when Ogle's messenger came to the New Printing Office near the Market in Philadelphia with copy for a proclamation, Franklin perceived an opportunity for his young journeyman in the vacant office of Maryland public printer and proposed that Green be given a chance to show his fitness for the post by the printing of this important piece of work.[21] The proclamation, incidentally, concerned the invasion of the Pennsylvania counties of Chester and Lancaster by armed men from Maryland. Ogle proclaimed that no further grants of the lands in contest be made by the Governors of either province and that measures be taken by each of them to prevent such "tumults, riots, and outrageous disorders" as had lately culminated in the affray on the Susquehanna.[22]

Having printed the proclamation, Green secured his appointment, went to Maryland, settled there, and held the post of public printer for almost thirty years until his death, when his widow succeeded him in the position.[23] Concerning Green's official post, Wroth felt that he "must have been one of that number of good workers whom Franklin tells us he sent out from his shop to various towns supplied with press and equipment to be operated on a six-year agreement with him as silent partner."[24] This suggestion may be the basis for Carl Van Doren's otherwise unaccountable statement that by 1734 Franklin "was public printer for Delaware and New Jersey as he later was for Maryland also."[25] Whether or not Franklin and Parks were mutually involved in Green's appointment, there seems to have been no literary or religious exchange of influences attached to the transaction.

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[20] *Ibid.*, 72, quoting *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1851, IV, 253.

[21] Lawrence C. Wroth, "A Maryland Proclamation of 1737," *New York Herald Tribune*, October 31, 1926, Section VII, 27.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, 75.

[24] Wroth, *New York Herald Tribune*, November 14, 1926, Section VII, 27. This brief notice corrects and augments Wroth's article of October 31, 1926.

[25] Carl Von Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938, 118.

Just as Franklin had culled suitable material from the *Maryland Gazette,* so he used Parks' later journal, the *Virginia Gazette,* as a source for news about Virginia, which he invariably reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* under the heading "Williamsburg" followed by an appropriate date. The news thus printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* was always political or commercial or sensational in nature, never literary. Although this fact has not previously been pointed out, Miss Elizabeth C. Cook has called attention to the debt of Franklin's *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for All the British Plantations in America*: "The first newspaper which Franklin culls from for his new magazine is the *Virginia Gazette.*"[26]

What no student of the *General Magazine* has called attention to is, first, the extent to which Franklin drew on the *Virginia Gazette,* and, second, the importance of the simple fact that he did draw on its belletristic contents—poems and essays.[27] In the six numbers of his short-lived and unsuccessful magazine, Franklin used seven poems, original and translated, and two essays taken from the *Virginia Gazette,* in four of the six issues, those for January, April, May, and June. Without exception these pieces are taken from missing issues of the *Virginia Gazette.* Indeed we should not know whence they came had not Franklin specified their common source in every instance. Because he did, we are able to reconstruct in part the contents of those lost numbers of Parks' newspaper. Two items engage our particular interest. One of these appeared in the first, the January, 1741, issue of Franklin's *General Magazine.* It is a poem inscribed "*To* W. G. *jun. Esq; and Mrs.* E. B. *on their Marriage*" and begins, "Hail happy Pair! for you these Vows ascend." The author is "M. Parks." Could it be that William Parks wrote this hymeneal poem for the marriage of Governor Gooch's son, William Gooch the younger?[28] The second item appeared in the *General Magazine* for May, 1741, and is a "Copy of Part of Sir John Randolph's Will."[29]

The missing file of the *Virginia Gazette* can be even more extensively reconstructed. Although most of the papers between No.

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[26] Cook, *Literary Influences,* 227.

[27] Benjamin Franklin, ed., *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for All the British Plantations in America,* with a bibliographical note by Lyon N. Richardson, Facsimile Text Society, Publication No. 41, New York, 1938.

[28] *Ibid.,* 62.

[29] *Ibid.,* 342–348; the page numbering here is incorrect; page 342 should be 346, and the citation should read 346–348.

183 and No. 451 are missing,[30] parts of them exist today in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the form of dispatches dated from Williamsburg—but, it is important to note, dated without credit to the source, the *Virginia Gazette.* In two years, 1739-1740, Franklin used the Williamsburg dateline on fifteen occasions. From February 15, 1739, to March 6, 1740, he used nine datelines from Williamsburg in six issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, occasionally using two Williamsburg datelines in one issue of his own newspaper. I have found all but one of these, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 15, 1739, in numbers of the *Virginia Gazette* which are approximately two months older than the corresponding numbers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Apparently Franklin received his mail from Virginia regularly, if slowly.

From May 8, 1740, to November 13, 1740, Franklin used the Williamsburg dateline six times in six issues of his Gazette. Only once did he give his source as the *Virginia Gazette* in these two years, and that was in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 14, 1740. This item and the other five items from Williamsburg that Franklin used between May and November of 1740 are from missing issues of the *Virginia Gazette.* Such a statement is based on the assumption that inasmuch as Franklin had been using the *Virginia Gazette* as a source prior to its No. 183, he continued to use it as a source. Not only do these six items come from the *Virginia Gazette,* but undoubtedly so do the other items with a Williamsburg dateline that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1741 on. Thus, albeit sketchily, we can reconstruct the life of Parks' periodical during those years of the 1740's for which the file is no longer extant. Franklin took from the *Virginia Gazette* only political speeches and shipping news as pertinent for publication in the *Pennsylvania Gazette;* and we have, therefore, no record of literary activity in the *Virginia Gazette* for those years, except for the poems and essays in the *General Magazine.* Franklin's borrowed matter shows no evidence of the slightest heterodoxy on his own or on Parks' part. The politics and shipping news are beneath suspicion; the belles lettres are graceful and quite conventional.

Throughout the relationship of Franklin and Parks, in fact, there is a striking absence of any ties save those of business and

[30] Lester J. Capper and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736–1780,* Williamsburg, 1950, I, viii; this introductory note states that 200 issues of the *Virginia Gazette* not included in the photostat edition have been found. These discoveries, however, have not uncovered the missing file for 1740–1745, as examination of the *Index* proves.

craftsmanship. But the records themselves are meager and the biography necessarily brief, and biased in the direction of the relatively noncommittal documents still in existence.

Despite this paucity of historical records an exploration of William Parks' career to ascertain his religious beliefs does not result in a mere statement of probabilities.

True, no detailed profession of faith, such as Franklin made on more than one occasion, exists. Parks' will, however, explicitly states his adherence to Christian doctrine. The document opens with a formula, but it is a formula that no deist would have used.

> In the Name of God Amen. I William Parks of the City of Williamsburg in the Dominion of Virginia Gent being sick and weak of body but of Perfect and sound Mind and MeMory do make and ordain this my last will and Testament in manner and form following. That is to say I bequeath my Soul to God hoping through the merits of Christ the Same shall be saved and my body to be buried in a decent manner.[31]

The facts show, then, that Parks was a Christian and probably an Anglican, a loyal subject who accepted the results of the Glorious Revolution, a citizen who tempered his opinions to ruling authority. William Parks was no deist, no member of that churchless religion of nature later to become so fashionable among the Virginia gentry as they imbibed the propaganda of the French Enlightenment.

NICHOLAS JOOST

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[31] Lawrence C. Wroth, ed., "Will of William Parks, the First Printer in Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Series 2, II (April, 1922), 92–96.

The Real Quebec Act

The first American Continental Congress, meeting at Philadelphia during the latter months of 1774, issued a powerful appeal to the Catholic inhabitants of Quebec to join in concerted action against British tyranny. This call for co-operation was forceful and reasoned, and, in closing, it laid stress on the great good will prevalent among the Americans toward the Canadian people, and it expressed the hope that despite differences in religion harmony could be achieved.[1] A few days earlier, however, that same Congress had drawn up two memorials, directed toward other British subjects, and in these it was noted with consternation that the Act of Parliament establishing the Catholic Religion in Quebec constituted a grave menace to traditional British liberties.[2] Obviously these contradictory pronouncements did not escape the knowledge of the Canadians,[3] but the failure of the appeal to win their support cannot be attributed to this glaring inconsistency on the part of the Americans. Had deep-seated grievances embittered them toward the British Crown, such a lack of finesse by a potential ally would never have precluded the conclusion of an alliance of expediency.

But the Canadians made no move to rid themselves of British control. They did not attempt to help the Americans in 1775, nor did they evince any desire to join the struggle in 1778, when France, their former motherland, entered the war against England. It is a seeming paradox that these people remained loyal to George III, a ruler foreign in race and religion, law and customs, one who scarcely half a generation earlier had been the very embodiment of bloody violence against them, while the populace to the south, the same in origin and creed and law with that king, rose up against him in an unprecedented rebellion. The explanation of all this involves another apparent paradox, for it is found in the

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[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774–1789*, W. C. Ford, ed. Washington, 1904–1937, I, 105–113 (Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec, October 26, 1774); the case of Switzerland was cited to demonstrate that Protestant and Catholic states could exist in peaceful union, cf. *ibid.*, 112.

[2] *Ibid.*, 82–90 (Address to the people of Great Britain, October 21, 1774); *ibid.*, 90–101 (Address to the inhabitants of the colonies, etc., October 21, 1774).

[3] By order of Congress, these addresses were scattered broadcast over America and England, cf. *ibid.*, 101 (Order by Congress, October 21, 1774).

Quebec Act of 1774, and this statute was in operation scarcely two months before its provisions were suspended and it was superseded by military law.[4] This act did not emerge solely, or even chiefly, from the collective intellect of the legal experts at Whitehall; its substance was fashioned during a decade and a half by the action and reaction of the conquerors and the conquered, and its spirit was at work among the latter long before it was ratified by Parliament. Close scrutiny and careful evaluation of events and decisions in Quebec and in London subsequent to September 18, 1759, demonstrate that, as the Quebec Act slowly impressed itself on the minds of the French Canadians, their loyalties slowly gravitated toward the Crown of Great Britain.

This law was a rare and moderate piece of legislation in that it gave to the ruled that which they valued most highly and denied to them that for which they did not care. The Canadians retained the right to practice their ancient religion and they were guaranteed the bulk of their legal code and customs; on the other hand, these people possessed neither the genius for nor the inclination toward self-government, and the refusal of England to establish representative political institutions did not concern them, and, in fact, proved to be fortunate for them.

I.

From the days of the earliest settlements there, French rule in Canada had been characterized by its royal paternalism. Leaders in the civil administration, in the military establishment and in the Church were drawn from the ranks of the French nobility. It is true that society in New France was divided into two main groupings: the Noblesse and the Habitants, but their similarity to the feudal Nobility and Peasantry of the old country was more nominal than real.[5] No sharp lines of cleavage separated the two classes in America, and each was relegated to positions, even the very highest of which, demanding more discipline and obedience than initiative. No question of self-government ever arose in the colony,

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[4] The effective date of the Quebec Act was May 1, 1775, cf. *The Statutes at Large*, London, 1786, VIII, 405 (14 Geo. 3, Cap. LXXXIII, Paragraph IV); it was suspended six weeks later, cf. Francis Maseres, *Additional Papers Concerning the Province of Quebec*, London, 1776, 170–172 (Proclamation, June 9, 1775).

[5] E. C. Lart, "The Noblesse of Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, III (1922), 222–232, describes the origins, culture and activities of this class.

and the people turned rather to their religion[6] and their law courts for activity.[7] There was, thus, a very decided and essential difference between the interests and the development of the Franco-Americans and the Anglo-Americans who, for one reason or another, had exercised a great deal of power over their internal affairs from the very beginning. Because of the attachment shown by the Canadians to their religion and their legal institutions, there is no reason to doubt that a summary extinction of their rights in these matters, after the British conquest, would have alienated them and driven them to revolt as surely as the Molasses Act and the later inept laws forced the Americans to that extreme. Fortunately for Great Britain, the men selected to govern Quebec were exceedingly competent and understanding.

Quebec surrendered to the English forces in September, 1759; a year later Montreal capitulated and all French resistance in Canada came to an end. The Canadians looked forward with trepidation to the occupation of their country by the enemy.[8] But as soon as the last shot had been fired, the British military personnel assumed a gallant and generous attitude toward the vanquished. By the articles of surrender the Canadians were granted freedom of religion in the very widest sense of the term;[9] money was advanced

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[6] A Shortt, A. G. Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, 2nd Ed., Ottawa, 1918, (hereinafter cited as *CD* for Canadian Documents) I, 66–72 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762). Here is a detailed account of the status of the Church in Quebec immediately after the city fell to the English. It was noted that "the Canadians are . . . extremely tenacious of their religion. . . ." It was also observed how well the people obeyed the Church regulations on marriage, cf. *ibid.*, 75. The English commander at Three Rivers felt that "The Inhabitants and Chiefly the Peasantry seem very happy in the Change of their Masters. They are protected in the free Exercise of their Religion . . . ," cf. *ibid.*, 87 (Burton to Amherst, April 1762); the officer at Montreal also commented on this trait of the Canadians and expressed his opinion that the difference in religion was one of the bases of possible distrust toward the British, cf. *ibid.*, 95 (Gage to Amherst, March 20, 1762).

[7] *Ibid.*, 53 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762), "The Canadians . . . are, in general, of a litigious disposition . . . "; *ibid.*, 264 (Considerations on the Expediency of the Settlement [of Laws] of Quebec, 1766).

[8] J. Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, London, 1769, II, 85; *CD*, I, 80 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762), Murray recalled that the Canadians had been in terror that they would be driven from their homes like the Acadians.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3 (Articles of Capitulation, September 18, 1759), Article 6 read: "libre Exercise de la Religion Romaine, sauves gardes accordées a toutes personnes Religieuses . . . ;" *Glimpses of the Monastery—Scenes from the History of the Ursulines of Quebec*, Quebec, 2nd ed., 1897, 282; the commander of the British troops visited the Superior, for whom he seemed ". . . to have conceived . . . the highest esteem," and assured her of his special protection for her convent. This officer was General Murray. The volume cited was written by an anonymous Ursuline, a

to the destitute Ursuline nuns so they could carry on their hospital work, not alone among the British disabled, but among the French and Canadian sick and wounded, too.[10] The winter following Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham was bitterly cold, and the campaign about Quebec had depleted local food supplies. Civilian hardship was materially eased when the English and Scottish soldier boys shared their rations with the Canadians.[11] One British soldier let his stomach rule his heart—he stole food from an Habitant and was hanged for the deed as a warning to his fellows.[12] At this time, of course, the British possession of Canada had been confirmed by no definitive treaty, and the colony could revert to the French Crown, consequently these things made a deep and lasting impression on the conquered race.

The first English governor of Quebec was General James Murray,[13] a forceful, and, at times, irascible, Scottish nobleman, who entered upon his duties with a rare, although not judicial, impartiality toward the Canadians and the American traders who had established themselves in the province immediately after the cessation of hostilities. Murray's impartiality stemmed from a thorough detestation of both classes of subjects: he disliked the Canadians be-

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member of the Quebec Community, and is based on the convent annals. Although a secondary source, I feel it is absolutely reliable. *CD* I, 16–17 (Articles of Capitulation, September 8, 1760), Articles 28, 30 and 34 show the extent of the freedom of religion granted by the English: "Art: 28 Le Chapitre, Les Prestres, Curés et Missionaires, Continueront avec Entiere Liberté leurs Exercises et fonctions Curiales dans les paroisses . . . ."; "Art: 34 Toutes les Comunautés, Et tous les prestres Conserveront . . . L'Usufruit des Seigneuries, Et Autres biens (qu'ils) . . . possedent . . . , Et Les d: biens seront Conservés dans leurs priveléges, droits, honeurs et Exemptions." This was generous, but not as generous as may appear at first glance, for much of the endowment was derived from France and it would be to the monetary advantage of England to allow this money to be spent in one of her dependencies, cf. *ibid.*, 66–71 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762); "Art: 30 Si par Le Traitté de paix, Le Canada restoit au pouvoir de sa M^té^ Britannique, Sa M^té^ Chretieñe Continueroit a Nomer L'Evesque de La Colonie . . . ." This was just too much and Lord Amherst refused to allow it.

[10] *Correspondence of William Pitt* ed. G. S. Kimball, New York, 1906, II, 180 (Monckton to Pitt, October 8, 1759), "The French Commissary of War having represented to me, the miserable State, the Grand Hotel, (in which there are now upwards of 300 sick & wounded, 15 of which are French Officers and about 80 Soldiers Prisoners of War . . .) must be reduced to . . . I have therefore advanced . . . £600 . . ."; *The Ursulines of Quebec*, 275, tells of the civilians in the place.

[11] Knox, *Campaigns in North America*, II, 102; *CD*, I, 39 (Placard of Amherst, September 22, 1760), reveals that the American colonists were called on to contribute food and supplies to the Canadians.

[12] J. Murray, *Journal of the Siege of Quebec*, Quebec, 1871, 9 (Entry, November 14, 1759).

[13] H. M. Chichester, "James Murray," *D.N.B.*, XXXIX, 374 (War Office, Privy Council, Page 21, October 27, 1760).

cause of their religion, which he attributed to ignorance, and he could not abide the merchants because of their occupation, which he attributed to a perverse and innate meanness.[14] This odd and antisocial outlook is important because it prevented the traders, who were quite skilled in political activity, from gaining complete ascendency in the province, and thus the Canadians were given time to demonstrate those qualities which won the governor's admiration if not affection.

Until 1763 Canada was ruled by a military government, and the status of the Catholic Church during these years set the pattern for what was to follow and what eventually was to be embodied in law. The governor did not hesitate to thunder about the clergy, but his actions coincided with the capitulation provisions, which assured perfect freedom of religion to the Canadians. While the Recollect Friars were a mild group of men, he stated, so mild, that were they to realize they were not wanted, they would simply depart, the Jesuits were dangerous, possessing, as they did, ". . . turbulent and intriguing genius . . ." that might ". . . prompt them to play some trick which might prove fatal."[15] Yet, at the same time, he described enthusiastically the Indian mission where natives were well trained in obedience, discipline and politeness, and assisted at the divine services in a manner worthy of imitaton by Europeans.[16] This mission, as he candidly observed, was conducted by the Jesuits. When it came to a word about the Ursulines, Murray found himself in a dilemma: he could not forget that these women had been of the utmost assistance to him and his soldiers during the first years of occupation duty[17] and that he had promised their Superior his special protection, yet he felt that they ought to be eliminated as an organization.[18] He suggested that the government, taking notice of the great poverty of the colony, re-

[14] *CD*, I, 71 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762); V. Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, Madison, 1896, 308 (Canadian Archives, Q. 2, 233 (Murray to the Home Government, March 3, 1765)); *CD*, I, 231 (Murray to Lords of Trade, October 29, 1764); Murray's outlook is best epitomized by a contemporary observation: "The Canadians have carried the love of arms and glory, so natural to their mother country along with them, for which reason, they have little of the narrow selfish spirit of them merchant in them. . . ." Cf. *The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America*, T. Jeffreys, ed. London, 1760, 9.

[15] *CD*, I, 67 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762).

[16] *Ibid.*, 73 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762).

[17] *The Ursulines of Quebec*, 282, the nuns were filled with compassion when they saw the "peculiarities" of the Highlanders' uniforms, and they knitted hose ". . . to cover the limbs of the poor strangers."

[18] *CD*, I, 71 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762).

quire that each novice presenting herself for admission to the Ursulines pay a stipulated sum to the order—set at a relatively high figure—and that a minimum age for novices be fixed—also a relatively high figure. This would be done for the ostensible purpose of alleviating financial distress among the sisters; actually, in a generation the community would die out quietly and gratefully! So mused the general in putting forward this scheme which would satisfy honor and duty. The broad policy he suggested was a more or less subtle campaign to win the Catholics over to Protestantism before any of them realized what was happening, a thing not so difficult, he pointed out, in view of their ignorance;[19] all that was needed was a leaven of French Protestants to start the thing working![20]

But apart from these observations, nothing of a repressive nature took place: the Jesuits remained, no hints were whispered to the humble Friars, the Ursulines re-established their female academy.[21] The governor and his colleagues at Montreal and Three Rivers came to the sound conclusion that the freedom to practice religion was vital in the transformation of the erstwhile French subjects into loyal supporters of King George.[22] The conquerors lived up to the agreement they had made at the fall of Quebec, and, indeed, the governor found that the diocesan organization could be utilized with profit. An earlier survey on the size of the crops had failed due to the reluctance of the Habitants to reveal what they felt was private information; consequently Murray turned to the Vicar-General of Quebec to obtain the necessary data.[23] The Church, for its part, assumed its place in the official life of the colony, offering the customary prayers for the Royal Family, for English victories and the like.[24] Thus, almost with the establishment of

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19 *Ibid.*, 79 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762).

20 *Ibid.*, 71 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762).

21 *Mandements des Évêques de Québec*, H. Têtu, C–O. Gagnon eds. Québec, 1887–1897, II, 191 (Mandement, 26 janvier 1767); *The Ursulines of Quebec*, 294–295, the annals of the convent are cited directly as follows: in 1761: "All the winter, . . . we have had a certain number of boarders, and as many day pupils as we could accomodate."; in 1775; "It has been a great consolation for us, in the midst of so many difficulties and trials, to see our classes always well filled, there being often as many as sixty boarders, French and English."

22 *CD*, I, 71 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762); *ibid.*, 95 (Gage to Amherst, March 20, 1762); *ibid.*, 87 (Burton to Amherst, April 1762).

23 *Mandements des Évêques*, *CD*, II, 153–154 (Circulaire, 18 janvier 1761).

24 *Ibid.*, 157–158 (Mandement, 1 fevrier 1762); *ibid.*, 163 Lettre Circulaire, 2 novembre 1762); *ibid.*, 167–168 (Mandement, 22 mars 1763).

military government in Canada precedents were being amassed which would culminate in the Quebec Act.

The law code which prevailed in Canada before the conquest was extinguished by Murray shortly after he became military governor, and it was replaced by military law.[25] This change was apparent rather than fundamental, for the new system was very similar to the one it supplanted: there were no juries in either criminal or civil cases and the courts were presided over by men trained in military law, by British officers. Appellate jurisdiction lay entirely within the hands of the governor, without whose permission no appeal was allowed from any of the lower courts. This amazingly simple solution to the problem of law in the colony satisfied the Canadians,[26] although as events were to show, it was far too elemental to satisfy the legal rights of England.

In 1763, by virtue of the Treaty of Paris, Canada was formally ceded to the Crown of England and a permanent civil government was established there. This new government suffered by contrast with the temporary military regime as far as the New Subjects[27] were concerned. It was well that a solid foundation of loyalty had been constructed among them, for annoyances and agitations started to wrack the province: the wording of the treaty was ambiguous, the instructions to the governor were equivocal, the English commercial element waged a fierce battle, out of all proportion to its numbers, for political primacy. The Canadians came to realize that the security of their institutions was gravely menaced, dependent as it was, not on any law or constitution, but on the views and prejudices of the man who represented the King at Quebec.

II.

Quebec presented a new problem for the Ministry in England, for this colony was not a barren wilderness, inhabited only by a few dirty aborigines, but an old and stable one, wherein dwelt nearly 100,000 white people, culturally the equals, if not the superiors, of their new masters. The latter, therefore, considered

[25] *CD*, I, 42–44 (Ordinance Establishing Military Courts, October 31, 1760).

[26] *Ibid.*, 223 (Address of French Citizens to the King, January 7, 1765), "Monsieur Murray, . . . nous a rendu jusques à present à la Tête d'un Conseil militiare toute la Justice que nous aurious pû attendre des personnes de Loi les plus éclairés; . . . ."

[27] This term may lead to confusion: a New Subject was an old inhabitant in Canada; an Old Subject was a newcomer—the relationship of the subject to the Crown determined the qualifying adjective.

such information as was available in an attempt to formulate some workable policy. As has been noted, the meaning of the treaty was not crystal clear; under the provisions of Article IV, Canada was ceded to the King of England, who agreed to grant his new Catholic subjects the full practice of their religion ". . . en tant que le permettent les loix de la Grande Bretagne."[28] To clarify this marvel of double talk, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Egremont, wrote to Murray in mid-1763 that intelligence had been received to the effect that the French were planning to use the Catholic clergy in Canada to maintain a grip of New France.[29] This subversive activity, he ordered, must be dealt with mercilessly, for, while freedom of religion had been granted, and while there was not the most distant notion to restrain the Canadians from worshipping ". . . *according to the Rites of the Romish Church*: . . .," it must be borne in mind that this liberty could only go ". . . *as far as the Laws of Great Britain permit,* which Laws prohibit absolutely all Popish Hierarchy in any of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, and can only admit of a Toleration of the Exercise of that Religion; . . . ." General Murray was thus in a position where any measures in regard to religion could be justified; none of his actions were in any way to prove repressive.

Murray's commission as civil governor was issued toward the end of 1763, followed by a set of detailed instructions which simply compounded the confusion about religious toleration.[30] Paragraphs 28 and 32 of these instructions were absolutely incompatible; the former read, ". . . conform with great Exactness to the Stipulations of the said Treaty [in granting freedom of religion]," while the latter ordered him ". . . not to admit of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the See of Rome or any other foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction whatsoever in the Province under the Government."[31] In fairness to the Ministry, it must be observed that this did not represent an intent to befuddle the governor or becloud the issue, it was rather evidence of their Protestant environment and of their gross ignorance concerning the essentials of the Catholic Church.[32] Murray ignored both paragraphs and granted freedom to Catholics with

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[28] *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies,* F. G. Davenport, C. O. Paullin, eds. Washington, 1917–1937, IV, 93.

[29] *CD,* I, 169 (Egremont to Murray, August 13, 1763).

[30] *Ibid.,* 173–181 (Commission of Murray, November 14, 1763); *ibid.,* 181–205 (Instructions to Murray, December 7, 1763).

[31] *Ibid.,* 191.

[32] Cf. *infra,* 35.

no reference to the treaty stipulation ". . . en tant pue la permettent les loix de la Grande Bretagne;" he granted freedom in so bold a fashion that the Old Subjects soon began to complain that Catholics were being treated too well. The governor disobeyed Paragraph 32 by commission as well as omission, for he connived at the admission of all the jurisdiction it forbade.

In June 1760, the Bishop of Quebec, Monseigneur de Pontebriand, died, and in the confusion caused by the conquest and occupation, the election of his successor by the cathedral chapter was delayed for over three years.[33] In September 1763, Vicar-General de Montgolfier of Montreal, was nominated to the vacant office.[34] General Murray, however, had taken a violent, and justified, dislike to the nominee, and a harshly worded letter to the Home Government ended the chances of Montgolfier's accession.[35] This letter is not only important for its effect on diocesan affairs, but also because, when contrasted with the governor's lavish praise of the next bishop-elect, it offers an insight into the old soldier's character. In making known his disapproval of Montgolfier, Murray wrote, "Si un prêtre aussi hautain et impérieux, bien connu en France, est placé à la tête de cette église, il peut causer plus tard beaucoup de desagrement, s'il trouve une occasion favorable d'exercer sa malice et sa racune."

In place of the cleric thus denounced, Abbé Oliver Briand was elected.[36] Murray approved this choice, adding that ". . . M. Briand, . . . a constamment agi avec une candeur, une modération, un désintéressement qui le proclament un digne et honnête homme, et que je ne connais personne de sa robe qui mérite aussi justement les faveurs royales."[37] The way was thus cleared and the bishop-elect proceeded to London, where he obtained the approval of

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[33] *Mandements des Évêques*, II, 147 (Lettre Circulaire, 8 juin 1760).

[34] H. Têtu, *Les Évêques de Québec*, Québec, 1889, 270–271 (Murray to Shelburne, n.d.); this letter must have been written sometime in October, 1763.

[35] *Ibid.*, "Montgolfier . . . a poussé les choses au point de faire déterrer les cadavres de plusieurs soldats, parce que, étant hérétiques, ils ne devaient pas être enterrés dans une terre bénite." It is hard to imagine a more tactless deed than this; Montgolfier was in a position to dispense with the law regarding burial in consecrated ground, and I feel that Murray showed himself restrained in words and actions; he was completely justified in blocking this prelate's promotion, and it is probably well for the Church in Canada that he did.

[36] *Mandements des Évêques*, II, 190–191 (Mandement, 8 janvier 1767).

[37] Têtu, 272 (Murray to Shelburne, n.d.), written sometime in August, 1764.

the Crown, thence to France, where the jurisdiction of the See of Rome (in the form of the papal Bulls) and the jurisdiction of another foreign see (in the form of consecration at Paris) were admitted over the new head of the Canadian Catholics.[38] Bishop Briand returned to Quebec, carrying on his episcopal functions in the age-old way, under the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, without any interference by the British;[39] in 1772 the last shred of dependence on any foreign See except Rome was ended by the consecration of a coadjutor-bishop, thus making the Canadian clergy self-sufficient.[40]

James Murray was essentially a soldier, not a law giver; his solution to the legal problem in the days of the military government had been a soldier's solution. With the coming of the civil government and the requirement that a system of civil courts be established, Murray was faced with a difficulty he could not resolve so easily. What he did do was unsatisfactory from every viewpoint, and eventually brought about his recall to face the many "heavy charges" that had been raised against him by the English speaking newcomers in Quebec. Murray's orders gave him wide discretion in calling a popular assembly and he exercised this discretion by steadfastly refusing to summon such a group.[41] He felt that with only 200 people in the province eligible to participate in such a political institution, the rights of the rest of the populace would be in great jeopardy.[42] The civil system that Murray inaugurated was composed of lower courts wherein there was such wide latitude in the use of French Code or English Common Laws that confusion,

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[38] *Ibid.*, 273 (Letter of Briand, January 11, 1765); *ibid.*, 275 (Mills to Briand, December 18, 1765); *ibid.*, 276 (Bull to Briand, January 21, 1766).

[39] There were complaints that the whole thing was done with the aid of men in the Government itself, cf. F. Maseres, "Considerations on the Expediency of Procuring an Act of Parliament for the Settlement of the Province of Quebec," F. Maseres, ed., *Critical Essays*, London, 1909, 395–399; this was not without foundation, as has been noted above, and as Murray, who had used his influence with the Archbishop of York and with his own brother, the Dean of Durham, openly boasted, cf. Têtu, 278 (Murray to Briand, June 30, 1766.)

[40] *Mandement des Évêques*, II, 256 (Mandement, 14 mars 1774), gives the particulars of the consecration of the coadjutor-bishop, Monseigneur d,Esglis, on July 12, 1772; *CD*, I, 484 (Cramahé to Dartmouth, June 22, 1773).

[41] *Ibid.*, 165 (Proclamation, October 7, 1763); *ibid.*, 175 (Commission of Murray, November 14, 1763).

[42] *Ibid.*, 206, n. (Murray to the Home Government, September 17, 1764), estimated that there were 80,000 people of French descent in Quebec and only about 200 English-speaking settlers.

rather than justice, was dispensed to the "litigious" Canadians.[43] The system also included a Superior Court of Judicature, where jury trials decided the cases at hand. A grand jury was necessary for this higher court and in October 1764 one made up largely of Old Subjects was impanelled. This body immediately declared itself to be the only representative group in Quebec, and as such, set forth an imposing set of complaints about the governor.[44] In this presentment they noted with annoyance the excessive number of lower courts; they were disgusted with the filthy condition of the public streets; the failure to establish Protestant public schools was denounced, as was the violation of the atrabilious gloom of the English Sabbath; notorious gaming houses, they observed, were being shamelessly run in Quebec, apparently with the tacit consent of the authorities. Duty forced them to state that Catholics were being treated with unwonted and ill-advised clemency, even to the point where they were allowed to serve on juries, a thing which would obviously subvert the dignity of the English Crown.

What was most astounding about this document was that it was signed not only by the English-speaking jurors, but by the Canadians! When Murray had it translated into French, the latter were overcome with amazement and hastened to explain that apart from the language difficulty, which might have obscured some idiomatic phrases, there was a great deal that had been added subsequent to their subscription, by a piece of legerdemain, as it was shown later.[45] In their explanation to the governor, the Canadians complained in their turn, that while he and the king had been so mild toward them that they had forgotten the hardships and losses of the war, their English-speaking fellow subjects looked on them as not much more than slaves. Murray flew into a monumental rage—his natural antipathy for tradesmen had completely overcome

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[43] *Ibid.*, 223 (Address of French Citizens to the King, January 7, 1765), wherein it will be noted that the French praised the military justice dispensed by Murray, but were pointedly silent about his civil system; later they put their disapproval in positive form, complaining of " . . . La maniere differente de procedder quant à la forme, et quant au fond dans les affaires Civiles, et de prix exhorbitant des Sallaires éxigés par Les gens de Loix, . . ." cf. *ibid.*, 419 (Petition for the Restoration of French Law and Custom, n.d.); the editors feel it was probably written about 1770, cf. *ibid.*, n. The term "litigious" was applied to the Canadians by Murray, cf. *ibid.*, 53 (Murray to Egremont, June 6, 1762). The provisions of Murray's law system are found in *ibid.*, 205–210 (Ordinance Establishing Civil Courts, September 17, 1764).

[44] *Ibid.*, 212–215 (Presentment of the Grand Jury, October 16, 1764).

[45] *Ibid.*, 216–219 (Statement by the French Jurors, October 26, 1764); these jurors were given the presentment to sign, and after they had signed it extra sheets were added to the folio.

that for Catholics—and he sent his secretary, Hector Cramahé, to London with all possible haste, carrying a report on the affair to the Board of Trade.[46] The report sputters with the fury of its author, evinced, no doubt, as he paced up and down dictating it. Even routine business was made to reflect the storm that went on in the officer's mind. In rejecting three English-speaking nominees to his Council, Murray described the candidates as ". . . a notorious smugler [sic] and a Turbulent man, . . . a Weak Man of Little character . . . a conceited boy." He then wrote his views on the general situation, a statement, I feel, of the utmost importance, for in concise form it contains not only the elements of the Quebec Act, but a complete justification for it and for all sensible colonial legislation:

> Little, very little, will content the New Subjects but nothing will satisfy the Licentious Fanaticks trading here, but the expulsion of the Canadians who are perhaps the bravest and the best race upon the Globe, a Race who cou'd they be indulged with a few priveledges w^ch^ the Laws of England deny to Roman Catholicks at home, wou'd soon get the better of every National Antipathy to their Conquerors and become the most faithful and most useful set of Men in this American Empire.

Murray's adversaries were not notable for their humility; their reaction was sharp—petitions and pressure from the economic interests that had established themselves in Quebec after 1759, and their London factors, were not as picturesque as Murray's efforts, but they were as effective as far as the governor himself was concerned.[47] The Privy Council, even the King, decided that Murray must return to face the serious accusations thrown at him.[48] The traders were naturally pleased to be rid of so violent a foe; the Canadians were chagrined and framed their feelings in a flowery memorial praising his fairness and justice.[49] Conditions among the French-speaking subjects were satisfactory when Murray's term of office

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[46] *Ibid.*, 231–232 (Murray to the Lords of Trade, October 29, 1764).

[47] *Ibid.*, 232–235 (Petition of the Quebec Traders, n.d.); *ibid.*, 235–236 (Petition of the London Merchants, n.d.). Each of these petitions must have been written in 1765 as they were considered by the Privy Council on September 6, 1765, cf. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, W. L. Grant, J. Monro, eds. London, 1908–1912, IV, 696 (Proceedings, September 6, 1765).

[48] *Ibid.*, 720 (Proceedings, June 21, 1765); *The Correspondence of King George the Third*, J. Fortescue, ed. London, 1927–1928, I, 290 (The King to Conway, March 30, 1766).

[49] *CD*, I, 223 (Address of French Citizens to the King, January 7, 1765), in which the people praised highly the governor's military justice, as has been mentioned, but said nothing of his civil system of laws.

finally was brought to a close,[50] although the feeling grew that these conditions must be buttressed by some definite law and must not be allowed to depend on the whims of an individual.

While some quarters in England criticized Murray's conduct—not for leniency, but for severity toward the Canadians—he was completely exonerated by his superiors, a clear indication that his mild course had impressed the Government as the best one to follow in the new colony.[51] The general grasped fully the reasons behind the charges brought against him; he granted that he had ". . . displeased the little Protestant Traders, who all, Quakers, Puritans, Anabaptists, Presbiterians [sic], Atheists, Infidels and even Jews joined in protesting against any Consideration being paid to the poor Canadians," adding, ". . . I could not be prevailed upon to persecute His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects in Canada."[52]

During his term of office, this man had settled the religious question to the satisfaction of the overwhelming majority of people in Canada; he utterly failed to resolve the question of laws, and this intricate task was left to those who succeeded him.

III.

Murray's successor at Quebec was Guy Carleton, an Irishman and a professional soldier, who possessed many characteristics of the former, but not a nasty temper. When Carleton made his preliminary estimates of the situation in the province he displayed no interest in the religious question nor did his correspondence ever advert to any unrest among the New Subjects on this account. His

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50 For example, the bishop, in a private letter to a priest, observed that Catholics could hardly tell they were living under the jurisdiction of a Protestant prince, cf. *The New Regime, 1765–1767*, C. W. Alvord, C. E. Carter, eds. Springfield, 1916, 559 (Briand to Meurin, April 28?, 1767); an observer sent by the French Foreign Minister, to sound out the disaffection among the former subjects of King Louis, noted, ". . . heut zu Tage . . . Personen . . . fühlen sich unter ihrer neuen Regierung glücklich. . . ." Cf. F. Kapp, *Leben des Amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb*, Stuttgart, 1862, 63 (Franzosische Archive, Kriegsministerium, pièce 26 (Kalb an Choiseul 19 April 1768).

51 *CD*, I, 251–257 (Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General, April 14, 1766), held that Murray acted with the rough hand of a conqueror, an opinion I feel unfair to the general, since his instructions were so equivocal he could have been castigated irrespective of what he did; the Privy Council, however, found that all charges were ". . . groundless, Scandalous and Derogatory to the Honour of the said Governor, who stood before the Committee unimpeached.", cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, V, 51 (Proceedings, April 13, 1767).

52 *Report of the Work of the Archives Branch for the Year 1912*, archivist A. G. Doughty, Ottawa, 1913, 120 (Murray's answer to the Articles of Complaint, n.d.).

own observations and those of a high colonial official convinced him that his chief concern would be untangling the legal snarl that had followed the change from French Code Law to English Common Law.[53] In this opinion he was almost universally supported by other colonial officers. Regarding this legal mess, Carleton conceived the idea that Murray had been unduly severe toward the Canadians and he did not hesitate to criticize him for it.[54] Whatever the justice of such a viewpoint, at least it indicated that the French-speaking people in Quebec could look forward to a regime even milder than that just ended.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony, Carleton summoned a few members of his Council and requested their advice upon a certain matter.[55] The remaining councillors were indignant at being ignored and immediately rebuked him for the slight, as they chose to interpret it. For their trouble they were curtly reminded that the governor would continue to call on anyone he felt could give him the best information about the matter at hand; he suggested that they adjust their purpose to coincide with his own—to do ". . . what shall seem best for His Majesty's Service, and the Good of His Province. . . ." From this incident it is easy to infer how repulsive to the general was the idea of summoning a popular assembly. This summary treatment of the querulous advisers received the approval of the Crown, which seemed for the time being, at least, to be overcoming its lethargy respecting Canada.[56] The

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[53] *CD*, I, 269 (Irving to the Lords of Trade, August 20, 1766); *ibid.*, 289 (Carleton to Shelburne, December 24, 1766).

[54] *Ibid.*, Carleton felt it was the most severe treatment ever shown by a conqueror to a vanquished race, a rather exaggerated notion, even for a member of the Irish aristocracy.

[55] *Ibid.*, 276–277 (Carleton to Shelburne, October 25, 1766); *ibid.*, 277–278 (Remonstrance of the Members of the Council, October 13, 1766); *ibid.*, 278–279 (Carleton's Reply, October 1766). For a relatively full treatment of this episode, Cf. A. L. Burt, "Sir Guy Carleton and his First Council," *Canadian Historical Review*, IV (1923), 321–332. Burt evinces a strong anti-French feeling, and he has little use, as far as I can see, for either Carleton or Murray; this attitude should be borne in mind when perusing this article.

[56] The British Colonial Office used the first set of governor's instructions as a model for future ones sent to a particular colony. Subsequent governors received a new draft, filled in with the proper names and dates. Cf. *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670–1776*, L. W. Labaree, ed. New York, 1935, I, II, *passim*. As a copyist would not alter the substance of a document and as there were several changes and ommissions of an essential nature in Carleton's Instructions, cf. *CD*, I, 304–305 (Instructions to Carleton, 1768), and *ibid.*, 185–186 (Instructions to Murray, December 7, 1763), I conclude that someone in authority was looking into the Quebec situation. Cf. also *ibid.*, 449 (Report by Advocate General, 1773).

Privy Council undertook, after nearly a decade, to build up a systematic body of information about the place with particular reference to the judicial and legal complications that had developed.[57] Apart from the careful opinions of the colonial officers, the Council also asked to be informed regarding the feelings of the Canadians about the laws which obtained in the province, and, if there were any dissatisfaction, what suggestions had been put forward to end it. This request was implemented by sending an agent, named Maurice Morgann, to represent the Home Government in Quebec.[58] Morgann was ordered to give any advice to Carleton that might be necessary, to observe anything that might help in settling the legal tangle and to see that a full report was prepared and forwarded promptly to London.

During the administration of Governor Murray, the important aim had been to turn the hearts of the New Subjects to the Crown. This had been accomplished by the tolerant policy inaugurated toward the Catholic Religion. Carleton's duty was to nurture that loyalty and to eliminate any grounds for the disaffection that might cancel out the gains of the first years. To do this, it was necessary to satisfy the legal inclinations of these people as his predecessor had satisfied their religious ones. The most pressing duty for Carleton was the preparation of a report to send back with Morgann. Quite naturally he turned to the Attorney-General of the province, Francis Maseres, and asked him to prepare a draft of possible changes in the Canadian legal system.[59] Maseres was extremely bigotted, as Carleton later discovered, and was hopelessly uninformed about Catholic doctrine[60] and he took it upon himself, in the course

[57] *Ibid.*, 281 (Shelburne to Carleton, June 20, 1767); *ibid.*, 287–288 (Shelburne to Carleton, December 17, 1767); *ibid.*, 325 (Hillsborough to Carleton, October 12, 1768).

[58] *Ibid.*, 288, f.n. (Shelburne to Morgann, December 17, 1767).

[59] *Reports on the Laws of Quebec, 1767–1770*, W. P. Kennedy, G. Lanctot, eds. Ottawa, 1931, (hereinafter cited *RLQ*) 47–48 (Morgann to Shelburne, August 30, 1769).

[60] After expressing great disgust with Maseres, Carleton mentioned the lawyer's ". . . strong Antipathy to the Canadians, for no reason I know of, except their being Roman Catholics, ..." Cf. *The Maseres Letters 1766–1768*, W. W. Stewart, ed. Toronto, 1919, 23–24 (Carleton to Hillsborough, October 3, 1769); Maseres included in his *Additional Papers*, 120–126, some anecdotes about Bishop Briand which sought to prove the prelate worthless; these tales are nothing short of scurrilous; his ignorance of the Catholic Church is clearly demonstrated in his proposed law for Quebec wherein Catholics who read the Bible would be exempted from the usual ecclesiastical punishment! Cf. Maseres, "Considerations on the Expediency of Procuring an Act of Parliament," 351–370, *passim;* in his *Occasional Essays*, 564–589, he included material both salacious and erroneous, the least objectionable being a table of the costs of various indulgences; for example, a Catholic soldier who failed to slay a Protestant foe in battle had to pay £36.09.00 to be forgiven this offense!

of preparing his paper on the laws, to outline a Parliamentary Act about religious affairs in Quebec.[61] This document never had any official standing, and its value lies in this very fact, since it signifies that as far as those in power were concerned, the status of the Catholic Church in Quebec was settled favorably by sufferance or by prescription.

Maseres commenced his report for Carleton with some observations on English law from the days of the First Elizabethan Statute and he derived the conclusion from all this that an Act of Parliament, not a mere Royal Order, was necessary to render legal any settlement of laws in Quebec. He then surveyed briefly the reasons which contributed to the discontent in the colony. He asserted that two of the causes related to procedural law. The English Law, then in force, was more expensive and far slower than its French counterpart, and he recommended several changes to remedy these drawbacks. The other reasons, involving substantive law, included the uncertainty of the population as to exactly which set of laws was in force, and how long it would be in force, and also the novel provision, at least to the Canadians, of English Law, whereby a delinquent debtor was liable to imprisonment. In laying down four possible solutions to the problem, Maseres did not indicate definitely the courses he himself thought best.

First, stated the Attorney-General, an entirely new code of laws could be drafted for Quebec, to the exclusion of all others. While such a course would facilitate the work of the law officers and make litigation less arduous for the British settlers, and although it would effectively sever one more connection with France, it would probably be extremely costly and might become so burdensome as to infringe on civil rights. The second alternative, he pointed out, embodied the restoration of French Law and the adoption of such sections of English Criminal Law as were less harsh. While this was the easiest solution, it had the disadvantage of keeping before the Canadian people the French origins of their legal code; in addition, Maseres felt, it would annoy the English-speaking subjects who would naturally demand the blessings of English Law, as promised by the Proclamation of 1763. Next, he said, English Law could be adopted except in a few specific in-

61 *CD*, I, 327–369 (A Draught of An Intended Report of the Honourable the Governor in Chief and the Council of the Province of Quebec to the King's most Excellent Majesty in his Privy Council: concerning the State of the Laws and the Administration of Justice in that Province, February 27, 1769).

stances; these enumerated sections of French Law would not be reduced to a code, but would be enunciated, so to speak, in the manner of the Common Law itself. This solution was also a simple one, although it, too, had its drawbacks, for the connection with France would be adverted to in each and every lawsuit wherein a French jurist was cited. Maseres' fourth possibility was essentially the same as the third, except that any French Law adopted would be codified, thereby obviating the necessity of even a casual reference to France.

The governor, irked by this report, did not disguise his irritation; he considered the inconclusive character of the report not at all in keeping with the demands of the Privy Council.[62] He probably also felt that Maseres had gone too far in reading a lesson on government to the king. He turned therefore to Morgann, in whom he had previously evinced little confidence and requested him to prepare a draft.[63] Morgann referred to Maseres' paper for guidance but found it of no use whatsoever.[64] Chief Justice Hey also prepared a recommendation[65] and Carleton wrote one himself, utilizing the latter two reports as a framework.

The governor's report, which was completed in September 1769, was a forerunner of the Quebec Act and may be considered as the first concrete expression of the mild spirit of that Act.[66] In it he delineated the French background of the colony and asserted that French rule, while despotic in theory, was actually very moderate. The Noblesse and the Habitants constituted complementary classes, and, he added, revealing his professional background, they made excellent soldiers. Carleton pointed out that the cost of litigation under French rule was so cheap that there was never any cause for complaint, but the conquering English, less by their military assaults in 1759 and 1760 than by their legal assaults in 1764, overturned all this. As a result, the law courts were sunk

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62 *RLQ*, 47 (Morgann to Shelburne, August 30, 1769), in which the writer stated that Carleton rejected the Attorney-General's effort with resentment; *CD*, I, 370.

63 *RLQ*, *loc. cit.*, Morgann granted that he had been well received but added that he had a feeling that no one had any confidence in him.

64 *Ibid.*, Morgann called Maseres' report a ". . . . Strange and improper . . ." one, from which he could not glean a single idea.

65 *CD*, *loc. cit.*

66 *RLQ*, 52–71 (Report upon the Laws and Courts of Judicature in the Province of Quebec, September 15, 1769); the hand of Hey, the legalist, is evident in some sections of the report, for citation is made of precedents all the way back to the Norman Conquest, cf. *ibid.*, 66–71.

in a morass of legal complexities; some cases were tried by French Law, some by English Law, and some, in effect, by the English law of Equity! Thus the French felt that the law had become an impenetrable secret; they were irked at its slowness and outraged at its expense and shamed by the unheard of provision of imprisonment for debt. These observations led the governor to conclude that the situation could be improved markedly by an adjustment in procedural law, but to get right to the root of the evil, to conciliate the French-speaking subjects and to lay the bases for a decent legal system, he advised the adoption of the Civil Law of France. The Criminal Law of England was, on the whole, milder, and after the excision of certain of its statutes which might be odious to Catholics, he proposed that it be adopted. In this way, he held, the promise of the Proclamation of 1763 to the English settlers would be properly discharged.[67]

Carleton envisaged a gradual change in the French-Canadian Law so that eventually there would be no legal citations of nor reference to the Code or the great jurists of France. Thus, he claimed, the dilemma could be solved, and solved without putting into effect two sets of laws, one for the Old Subjects and another for the New Subjects. Maseres condemned this report on the ground that its provisions would encourage the growth of the Catholic Religion and discourage the immigration of Protestant settlers.[68] The governor ignored the protest and forwarded the recommendations to the Home Government.

At the same time, Carleton was investigating the administration of the law at the lowest level, that by the justices of the peace. When he had accumulated the necessary evidence, he ordered Maseres to draw up a statute which would correct such flagrant injustices as the assessment of costs far greater than the debt which

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[67] *Ibid.*, 71 (Report of the Laws and Courts. . . , September 15, 1769); many of the accusations against Carleton, that he had been charmed into a betrayal of the Old British Subjects would never have been made if these ideas had been closely scrutinized. In view of his testimony before the Commons, sometime later, relative to French-Canadian dislike of all English Law, this can be considered a definite concession to the traders whom he so disliked, yet whom he was determined, apparently, to treat fairly, cf. *The Parliamentary History of England*, T. C. Hansard, ed., London, 2d Series, 1803–1821, XVII, 1367–1368 (Proceedings, June 2, 1774).

[68] *CD*, I, 370–376 (Maseres' Criticism, September 11, 1769). The criticism is dated prior to the report itself because the latter had been finished by late August, at least in a rough draft, suitable for inspection by other colonial officials, cf. *RLQ*, 47 (Morgann to Shelburne, August 30, 1769).

was the cause of the process.[69] In February 1770, the Council approved an ordinance designed to give "litigious" Canadians bargain rate justice; it forebade the seizure of property for debt in all but a very few cases, and it allowed the debtors to repay what they owed in easy installments. When he forwarded this law to London for final approval, for he was not empowered to alter even procedural law without the consent of the Ministry, his letter of transmittal did not spare the Old Subjects in Quebec.[70] He charged that they had endeavored to repair their depleted fortunes at the expense of the Canadians, and that this had created a feeling of bitterness and resentment among the latter. The new law, he hoped, would tend to alleviate this source of trouble.

Prior to this, Morgann had taken all the papers prepared in Quebec, as well as the supporting documents, and had sailed for England.[71] He also bore a letter from Carleton commending his labors and those of Hey, in the tedious work. Maseres' name was conspicuous by its absence; when the Attorney-General asked the governor for a leave of absence, the latter, feeling him a menace to the tranquillity of the province and aware that he himself would be in London to combat the narrow lawyer, granted the request.[72] When Lord Hillsborough acknowledged the receipt of the papers, he enclosed the "Royal License" for Carleton, the permission necessary for a high ranking official to leave his colonial post.[73] The words of the English settlers were still complaining in their perennial demand for an assembly as the governor departed for England, but he had the satisfaction of receiving warm praise from the Canadians.[74] On Carleton's recommendation, Hector Cramahé, the same man who had carried Murray's stinging denun-

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[69] In one case it was shown that 80 livres' court costs were added to the original debt of 11 livres, cf. *CD*, I, 398 (Report of Committee of Council on Administration of Law by Justices of the Peace, September 11, 1769); Maseres' work in this field was embodied in "An Ordinance for the More Effectual Administration of Justice, and for Regulating the Courts of Law in This Province, February 1, 1770," cf. *ibid.*, 401–416.

[70] *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution 1713–1929*, W. P. Kennedy, ed. Toronto, 2nd ed., 1930, 82–83 (Carleton to Hillsborough, March 28, 1770).

[71] *RLQ*, 48–49 (Carleton to Hillsborough, September 18, 1769).

[72] *The Maseres Letters*, 24 (Carleton to Hillsborough, October 3, 1769).

[73] *RLQ*, 84 (Hillsborough to Carleton, January 18, 1770).

[74] *CD*, I, 417–418 (Petition of the British Freeholders, Merchants and Traders of Quebec, 1770?), while this document lavished no compliments on the governor, it applauded its writers handsomely, pointing out the rare example of industry that they furnished the benighted Habitants; *ibid.*, 420 (Petition for the Restoration of French Law, 1770?), wherein the Canadians praised Carleton as a ". . . digne représentant de Votre Majestée."

ciation of the Old Subjects to London a few years before, assumed temporary control of the colony.[75] This was not a happy choice as far as the traders were concerned, but, except for the presentation of the periodic petition for full political rights, they took no untoward action.[76] While Cramahé transmitted this request to the Home Government without favorable comment, he was quite insistent in his urgings that complete religious freedom be guaranteed to the French-speaking populace, pointing out that the danger of an subversive attachment to France through the clergy was rapidly being dissipated by the passing of time.[77] In 1772 the consecration of the coadjutor-bishop rendered the see completely free of any reliance of the French hierarchy and Cramahé asked that the Government accept the position of the new prelate immediately.[78]

By now a sufficient amount of information had been gathered by the Ministers of the Empire to warrant the drafting of a definite law code for this new and unique colony. It remains to investigate their work in this regard, as they pursued it during the next few years at London.

IV.

The appointment of the Earl of Dartmouth as Colonial Secretary in August 1772 marked an end to the shilly-shallying and the commencement of earnest attempts to prepare a constitution for Quebec. Prior to the drafting of a bill to present to Parliament, Lord Dartmouth ordered the Law Officers of the Crown to probe through all the material that had been collected from the colony and to render their opinions on the best way to settle the legal enigma there. The Solicitor-General, Alexander Wedderburn, was the first to complete this work.[79] He claimed that the Crown had a very definite obligations to the Canadians, who were not slaves but British subjects, and while their pleas for continuation of the military government were not compatible with the principles of the Empire, neither was an assembly, if it had to be foisted on them. The solution to this problem, he asserted, was to be found in a legislative council, properly controlled and closely regulated. He

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[75] *Ibid.*, 423, n. (Carleton to Hillsborough, March 15, 1769); cf. *supra*, 25.

[76] *Ibid.*, 495–498 (Petition to the King, December 31, 1773).

[77] *Ibid.*, 484 (Cramahé to Dartmouth, June 22, 1773).

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*, 424–437 (Report of the Solicitor-General, December 6, 1772).

discounted entirely the value of the stipulation guaranteeing religious liberty to the Canadians, as set forth in the Treaty of Paris, and pointed out that for its existence in Quebec, the Catholic Church depended solely ". . . upon the benignity and the wisdom of Your Majesty's Government." This wisdom dictated complete freedom for Catholics, he wrote, even to the point of assuring support for the clergy, but it did not dictate granting Papal jurisdiction, and to have the Jesuits holding property in the province was nothing short of repugnant. How ironic, mused the Solicitor-General, for the first Protestant state in Europe to act as a shield and guardian for the very Order that had been hounded out of all the great Catholic states!

Concerning the laws themselves, the legal system, Wedderburn felt that British policy ought to favor the Canadians, not only because they constituted an overwhelming majority, but also ". . . because it [was] not to [her] interest . . . that many of her natives should settle there." Thus the laws must be adapted to the needs of the many and a wholesale transfer of English Common Law to Canada would not be expedient; he did consider the Criminal Law of England more lenient than that of France and for this reason he favored its enactment in a limited way in the colony. Wedderburn's opinion happened to be extremely favorable to the New Subjects; without impugning it in any way it should be noted that it was thus favorable because as such the mother country stood to benefit; the motive was one of enlighted national self-interest, not overly common in London at that time, except in regard to Canada.

The paper of the Attorney-General, Edward Thurlow, was brief and to the point; he viewed the suggestion to adopt French Civil Law and English Criminal Law as an excellent one, but he was unable to discover the legal basis for such a change.[80] He felt, on the whole, that the Canadians were entitled to all their old laws, for these laws had been enacted over a long period of calm years, without the tumult and rancor of war and military occupation, and they had met all the legal demands of the province. He did not, however, look on these or any other laws as sacrosanct, but felt that essential changes by the conqueror were legally admissable and advisable. This report, which avoided any tedious and equivocal discussion of the status of the laws or the Church was probably closer to what the Secretary desired than the other two,

80 *Ibid.*, 437–445 (Report of the Attorney-General, January 22, 1773).

for it was sufficiently non-committal to justify any moderate solution that might be adopted.

Advocate-General James Marriott was the most verbose in his report; he commented at length on the injustices of the Proclamation of 1763, dealing with Canada, as it did, in a way reserved for new and unsettled places, not for populous provinces.[81] The Instructions to Governor Murray, too, he castigated, for their lack of originality; somewhat in the way of a sycophant, Marriott did not place the blame for these errors on the person ultimately responsible, for that person happened to be the Prime Minister, but upon the narrow shoulders of some anonymous, underfed clerk in the Colonial Office. Having paid his respects to the Crown, the Advocate-General then proceeded to analyze subsequent events and to deduce from them that the royal will was truly intent on assimilating the New Subjects and imposing English Law upon them. He took no issue with this decision, but felt that Canadians should be remolded in the image of Englishmen, and for that purpose he advised a legislative council instead of an assembly; he recommended the retention of only such French Law as pertained to land tenure and even this he would dub "the Common Law of Canada."

When it came to the question of religion, Marriott revealed himself as no means ignoremus. He discovered that the treaty allowed the New Subjects to practice ". . . le culte de leur religion selon le rit de l'Eglise Romaine, ..." Thus, he reasoned, the exercise, or profession of the religion was authorized, according to a specific rite, but this was harmless and appealed to the senses rather than the intellect. Doctrine, he wrote triumphantly, as if he had just uncovered the philosophers' stone, doctrine was not even mentioned in the treaty, and therefore Catholic doctrine was not to be allowed, a good thing, as Catholic doctrine was notoriously dangerous! After this exhibition of fatuity, which was not typical of Marriott, he laid down the following rule, the violation of which he had just consummated in heroic fashion: "In order to judge politically of the expediency of suffering the Romish religion to remain as an established religion of the state in any part of Your Majesty's

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81 *Ibid.*, 445–483 (Report by the Advocate-General, 1773), although the editors have dated this report 1774, this must refer to the publication date not the date it was given to Dartmouth. It is mentioned in a letter of transmittal from the Lord Chancellor to Dartmouth on August 4, 1773, cf. *ibid.*, 534, n.; accordingly, I have corrected the date in my references to it.

domains, the Romish religion (I mean its doctrine, not its ceremonies) ought to be perfectly understood."

Dartmouth digested the contents of these reports and sketched a rough outline of what he felt should be done about Quebec.[82] He envisioned a nullification of all acts based on the Proclamation of 1763; he recommended the establishment of a legislative council, restricted in its powers, and the renovation of the judiciary to give it a French form over an English substance. He was determined to handle the religious question fairly, but at this point his notions of fairness would have placed the Canadian Church in the position of having to choose from between schism and treason, for he was still insistent upon the exclusion of Papal jurisdiction from the Province of Quebec and the mere toleration of Catholic ceremonies.[83] Certainly he had not taken the advice of the Advocate-General as seriously as he might have.

The first draft of the bill to regulate the government in Quebec was prepared early in 1774.[84] Actually this was a detailed explanation of Lord Dartmouth's notes on the subject. It stressed the necessity of a legislative council, which should consist of from twelve to twenty-one members—with *thirteen* to be a quorum! This body was to possess specific powers which were strictly delimited in scope. The entire act, as proposed, would expire at the end of fourteen years or upon the establishment of a popular assembly, whichever occurred sooner. In early March Solicitor-General Wedderburn prepared a second draft, in which, as he made quite clear, he was following the ideas of his superior, not his own.[85] This draft proposed to annul all official acts deriving their legality from the Proclamation of 1763. The French were to be granted all their own laws with the exception of those con-

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[82] *CD*, I, 533–534 (Memorandum on Quebec, n.d.).

[83] Dartmouth said he would try to arrange things so ". . . that all Foreign Jurisdiction be excluded, and that those professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, may find within the Colony a resource for everything essential to the free Exercise of it, ... ," cf. *ibid.*, 485 (Dartmouth to Cramahé, December 1, 1773).

[84] *Ibid.*, 535–536 (First Draught of the Quebec Bill, n.d.), judging by the fact that once work on the bill started it proceeded rapidly, and that the second and third drafts were separated by less than two months, I would say that this draft was finished in January 1774. I disagree with Shortt and Doughty, who attribute it to Wedderburn, cf. *ibid.*, 535, n.; it seems rather to coincide with the ideas in Dartmouth's Memorandum; Wedderburn made it clear that his ideas were not in accord with those of his chief, cf. *infra*.

[85] *Ibid.*, 536–541 (Second Draught of the Quebec Bill, n.d.), from Wedderburn's letter of transmittal, this report may be dated March 2, 1774, cf. *ibid.*, 536–537, n.

cerned with treason, but the procedure in criminal cases was to be English—the marriage of adjective English Law and nominative French Law was calculated to satisfy the British settlers and the Canadians. No changes were made in the provisions for a legislative council.

Probably by early April the next revision was ready for scrutiny.[86] This draft was much more comprehensive than the earlier ones. It extended the boundaries of Quebec, it voided the Proclamation of 1763 as a legal support for acts and statutes in Canada and it re-established the old French Land Law, reserving to the Crown the right to grant any land under English Law, if it were so desired. Provision was made for the future development of the colony, for the council was given some authority to alter the laws. Cognizance of the overwhelming Catholic majority was taken, and tithes were granted to the clergy, in addition to complete religious freedom to the populace, although this was rendered meaningless by the provision that any such concessions were subject to the King's Supremacy. In view of Dartmouth's later action, this repressive condition must be attributed to misinformation rather than to malice or bigotry. The Secretary's tolerance, or his theory of tolerance, was supported by the jurist, Lord Mansfield, who suggested that since the tithe of a cleric was the same as the property right of a seigneur, there was nothing inconsistent in a Protestant state confirming that right. Furthermore, he pointed out, it would hardly be wise for Britain to allow such a body of men as the Catholic clergy to live in an English colony with no means of support.[87] Intentionally, or otherwise, Mansfield held out an inducement to apostacy, for he recommended that non-Catholics and ex-Catholics be exempted from the obligations to pay the tithe; on the other hand, and this would seem to indicate that he had no ulterior motive in suggesting the exemption, he recognized the impossibility of insisting on Catholics taking the Supremacy Oath.

As he had promised, Dartmouth took a very broad, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say a very practical view of the affair; in keeping with Mansfield's idea he immediately struck out the requirement of Catholics swearing to the Supremacy of the King, but he refused to except from the tithe any Catholic who had left

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86 *Ibid.*, 544–547 (Third Draught of the Quebec Bill, n.d.), I place this document in early April to allow sufficient time for the preparation of the final draft, which was brought to Parliament on May 2, 1774.

87 *Ibid.*, 550–551, n. (Mansfield to Dartmouth, April 28, 1774); *ibid.*, 550 (Clause Concerning Religion in the Third Draught, 1774).

the Church.[88] Such apostates, he felt, must support the Church of England ". . . so that none can elude the payment by denying the Profession of the Popish Religion." Carleton and Lord Hillsborough suggested that French Land Law be enacted in Quebec to the absolute exclusion of all English Land Law, and Dartmouth agreed to embody this feature in the bill, but he refused to consider any change in the proposed boundaries of the colony.[89] On the evening of May 1, 1774, the Colonial Secretary prepared the measure in correct legal form and the next morning he carried it over to Parliament.

Parliament, of course, made no changes of any real importance in the Quebec Bill. As it was finally approved, it received some clarifying phrases and it expanded the boundaries of the province in such a way as to confine the Southern Colonies, although this purpose was naturally denied and it had no direct bearing on the internal affairs of Quebec.[90] Free exercises of religion was granted the Catholics and tithes were allotted their clergy, and, although the Supremacy of the King was asserted, no Catholic had to swear to it, for in place of the old offensive oath was one of simple allegiance to the monarch. The legislature did refuse to ratify the adoption of French Land Laws in place of English ones, but this was a question of form, not substance, since the vassal of a French fief did not differ materially from the sokeman who had received his grant under the provisions of English socage; accordingly, each type of law was put in force. There was a dualism in the remaining field of laws—English Law was made effective in criminal cases and French Law in civil cases. Until an assembly was established a legislative council of from seventeen to twenty-three members would aid in the governing of Quebec. This council possessed power to alter laws from time to time, if such were demanded by the general welfare.

The debates on the bill are of more interest than importance. Objections were raised that the statute would, in effect, do away with the habeas corpus and with jury trials in civil cases,[91] but

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[88] *Ibid.*, 551, f. n. (Dartmouth to Mansfield, May 1, 1774).

[89] *Ibid.*, 553 (Hillsborough's Objections, n. d.); Carleton was included in the authorship of this note, cf. *ibid.*, 551–552, n. (Knox to Dartmouth, April 30), a letter which dates the note; *ibid.*, 554 (Dartmouth to Hillsborough, May 1, 1774).

[90] *The Statutes at Large*, VIII, 405–407 (An Act for making effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of *Quebec* in *North America*, 1774).

[91] *Parliamentary History*, XVII, 1357–1362 (Proceedings, May 26, 1774).

a member of the Ministry observed that this wail about the habeas corpus was rather odd, for in Ireland the English had voluntarily deprived themselves of this boon rather than allow any Catholics to enjoy it.[92] Again, it was pointed out that the great increase of trade in Quebec was due to the arrival of English settlers, and the bill would only serve to deter further immigration, thus ruining the commercial life of the province. Carleton, however, refuted this objection, pointing out that the increase in Quebec trade since 1760 was due ". . . to the change from a state of war to one of peace."[93] He also noted that there were no Old Subjects in the colony fit to be delegates in an assembly and that the Canadians didn't want such an institution anyway. Chief Justice Hey testified that the people in Canada looked on a popular assembly as ". . . a house of riot and confusion which meets only to impede public business and to distress the crown . . . ," a view which, in the light of events in the American Colonies, must have endeared the French-speaking subjects to all Westminster.[94] Five days after Parliament passed the Bill, on June 22, 1774, King George assented to it, observing that it embodied the best tenets of justice and humanity.[95]

The important days in fashioning and molding the Quebec Act took place long before it reached the floor of Parliament, and long before the Government started to draw up the Bill. Indeed, the Ministry merely codified essentials of the status quo and Parliament was cast in its ancient role of High Court, whose purpose was to confirm the fundamental law, rather than to enact anything new.

Governor Carleton returned to Quebec in September 1774, and reported that the new act was well received by all but the wilder elements among the British.[96] The call of the Southern Colonies to join in resistance against the King of England met slight response among the New Subjects. With the outbreak of war, less than two months after the Quebec Act had become the constitution of the province, Carleton suspended its provisions regarding English Criminal Law and the right of habeas corpus, and substituted

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92 W. Knox, *The Justice and Policy of the Late Act of Parliament for Making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec, Asserted and Proved,* London, a pamphlet, 1774, 30.

93 *Parliamentary History,* XVII, 1368–1370 (Proceedings, June 2, 1774).

94 *Ibid.,* 1374–1375 (Proceedings, June 2, 1774).

95 *Ibid.,* 1407 (Speech of the King); the Bill was passed by Parliament on June 17, 1774, cf. *ibid.,* 1402 (Proceedings).

96 *CD,* II, 586 (Carleton to Dartmouth, November 11, 1774).

military law. He was provoked that the people did not respond to his call to arms with more fervor,[97] yet there was no great defection—such was the exception, to be recorded and deplored.[98] Each and every Canadian did not rush to the British colors, but to attribute this lack of fire and zeal to the unwisdom of the Quebec Act is to overlook several vital factors about it.[99] The Act sprang from the desires and the needs of the Canadian people; it was, in fact, the confirmation of a policy which had obtained more or less completely for fifteen years, but during these fifteen years, the populace was uncertain as to what the future might bring; they were subjected to the subversive influence of an extremely vocal minority and there was need of a definite statement by the Crown as to the future of law and religion. The Quebec Act satisfied that need; its promulgation put to rest the worries of the New Subjects. But by its very nature, this law was a confirmatory one, and such laws are not apt to whip up wild enthusiasm for the government that enacts them, irrespective of their merit.

Whence came the policy of the Quebec Act? It came both from the Canadian people and from the British Government. The Crown, acting through Murray and Carleton, looked to the interests of the British primarily. Because Canadian interests did not run counter to those of England, the Government was willing to foster them, too. The Canadians were a religious and an agrarian people; as far as it came in contact with Quebec, the Government was mercantile and fiercely nationalistic. The aspects dovetailed neatly. The British traders in Quebec clashed with the Government and with the bulk of the people there and they were crushed. But this defeat was by no means inevitable, since a decisive minority can cope with a wavering, spineless opponent, and the Governments that ruled England during this period were certainly wavering and spineless. Fortunately for the British Empire, fortunately for the French Canadian people, two great men directed British rule in Canada after the conquest of the province. The memory of Murray's mild conduct toward them and his aid to the hierarchy, and

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[97] *Ibid.*, 665 (Carleton to Dartmouth, June 7, 1775), ". . . the Minds of the People [are] poisoned by the same Hypocrisy and Lies practised . . . in the other Provinces."

[98] J. B. Badeaux, *Journal des Opérations de L'Armée Américaine lors de l'Invasion de Canada en 1775–76*, Montréal, 1871), 4.

[99] The odd view that the Quebec Act drove the Canadians to revolt in convincingly presented in Coffin, *Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, 513, and in A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, Toronto, 1933, 201 But this theory overlooks one irksome fact, viz.: The Canadians did not revolt.

similar conduct on the part of Carleton and his lieutenant-governor, raised up before the pretensions of the traders an impregnable barrier, and the Act of 1774 placed the King's approval on it all and endeared him and his country to his New Subjects.

Within the Government, two forces were brought to bear on those who created British policy at its source. One was represented by such men as Maseres; this group demanded that England assimilate the Canadians. The foundations of their case were their own profit and an irrational prejudice. They sought to squeeze wealth and religion and culture from the established population. The general good of this populace or of the Empire never entered into their view. Legal sophistry clothed their plans with apparent righteousness.

The other force was represented by Murray and Carleton. These men sought to conciliate and win over the Canadians. No doubt their chief aim was to strengthen the Empire; mildness toward the colonials was but a means to that end. Yet, soldiers as they were, a class characteristically held to be petty and overbearing, they reached the heights of statesmanship at Quebec. They promoted the general welfare, they promoted tranquillity, they promoted fidelity and allegiance.

Happily the Privy Council responded to the latter policy. This outside influence on the responsible members of the Government elicited a course of action that won for England a people foreign in religion and culture and customs. At the outset, it was noted that the loyalty of the Canadians to their Anglo-Saxon, Protestant ruler involved an apparent paradox. When examined, however, in the light of the great influence of James Murray and Guy Carleton and the mild spirit with which they governed the conquered colony, the mystery falls away. The Quebec Act is found in the statute books for the Year 1774, but its spirit and its reality came into being as the triumphant British received the surrender of Quebec City, fifteen years before. Therein lies the solution.

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Belmont's History of Brandy

Introduction

François Vachon de Belmont was born in Grenoble on April 2, 1645. At the age of twenty-seven he entered the Society of Saint Sulpice in Paris. After seven years of study in France, he was sent to Canada while still in deacon's orders, arriving at Montreal in June, 1680. On September 14, 1681 he was raised to the priesthood in the Sulpician Order and began his missionary labors which continued for fifty-two years. The greater part of his early years were spent at the Mission of the Mountain near Montreal. In 1701, he was appointed Superior of the missions in charge of the Society of Saint Sulpice in New France. The position was a difficult one for it was the superior's problem to restrain the Canadian traders from destroying the work of the missionary among the Indians. After twenty-three years in office, the Abbé Belmont was relieved of his duties. He died on May 22, 1732.

Of the Abbé Belmont's writings, two are of major importance for the history of New France. These are: *Histoire du Canada,* and his *Histoire de l'Eau-de-Vie en Canada.* Both were originally published by the *Société Littéraire de Québec* in the 1840 volume of its *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations sur l'Histoire Ancienne du Canada.* In the preface of that volume, which is the tenth of the collection, we are informed that the Belmont manuscripts were found by Reverend M. Jean Holmes, Professor of Physics at the Seminary of Quebec, during his researches in the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris and other public institutions of France.

It is not certain when the Abbé wrote his two manuscripts. One might conclude that he composed them during the closing years of the seventeenth century, for he says that he decided, in 1698, to keep a record of the events of the war just then drawing to a close. Perhaps he considered that he should write an introductory discussion of the history of Canada before he began to keep his chronological account. In any case, the Abbé left for us two quite important sources of information concerning New France at the close of the seventeenth century.

Of the *Histoire du Canada,* it may be said that the brief, little history is for the most part a summary of the more full *Histoire du Montréal* written by Father F. Dollier de Casson, also a member

of the Society of Saint Sulpice. Belmont seems to have followed that account very closely in his own short summary to 1673. After 1673, which was the last year of Dollier de Casson's work, Belmont's little manuscript becomes very important. For the la Barre expedition against the Iroquois in 1684, the work is probably one of the very few contemporary accounts of any moment. In spite of its importance, the short *Histoire du Canada* has never been translated and remains buried in the rather inaccessible pages of a publication which is now quite rare.

The brief discourse which the Abbé Belmont composed on the history of the brandy trade in Canada is one of many contemporary accounts of the terrible effects of that trade on the Indians.[1] One is constantly running across references to Belmont's *Histoire de l'Eau-de-Vie,* though it has not been translated and is not readily available to students of the history of New France. The chief reason for its importance is that it is a well-drawn brief. Officials in France and in New France had denied, in view of their own interests, the validity of the charges of missionaries against the brandy traders and had equivalently demanded proof for the statements. It was incumbent upon Belmont as a superior to produce evidence. Therefore, he marshalled his arguments in historical order and presented an array of factual evidence, giving names, dates, places and circumstances in the instances where whiskey drinking had been the cause of particular atrocities and general demoralization in the colonies.

Besides having value as a case against the colonial administration this history of "fire-water" reveals a remarkable knowledge of alcoholism and the alcoholic mind.[2] Moreover, Abbé Belmont revealed a prophetic insight into the future in his summary of the consequences of the brandy trade on the fur trade. Clearly, if the Indians became alcoholics there would be fewer pelts gathered

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1 For a completely documented account of the brandy trade of the period covered by Belmont see Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits,* Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1939, 69–129.

2 Brandy was a generic term covering a multitude of spiritous liquors with a higher, or at least more effective alcohol content than wine, beer, or brandy as it is known in polite circles. Brandy itself was used at first and later for trade and so also was rum, but traders were reluctant to give a more costly beverage to the Indians, especially when cheap brews in lesser quantities had the quicker and more paralyzing effect sought by the Indians. The Dutch distributed at first a rhomb de bière made from the residue of the barley that had been used to make beer. Grain whiskies at various stages of fermentation were probably the most frequently used liquors for the brandy trade. Common terms for this type of beverage will immediately come to the mind of people acquainted with the brews of our prohibition days.

and soon fewer Indians to gather them. Belmont's language is sometimes harsh, and effort has been made in the translation to preserve something of his style. His descriptions are usually in strong colors. He sees conditions clearly and sees them in their whole setting.

In the following number of this magazine the second of Belmont's writings, his *Histoire du Canada,* will be presented in translation.

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THE HISTORY OF BRANDY IN CANADA

First Article

Peculiar Quality of Insobriety among Savages

When people in France hear of the complaints made by missionaries in Canada about the insobriety of the Savages and against those who are the authors [of the vice] they are inclined to attribute these strictures to an overweening zeal. They believe that because these holy men want the whole world to be perfect that they are impelled by their abhorrence of sin to pursue even its shadow. [As though] what are proscribed as faults in the cloister should be equally forbidden to people in the world. Among the Germans and the Bretons insobriety is looked upon as a kind of virtue, [a source] of conviviality. It is looked upon there as a mark of good-fellowship, a source of pleasure and comfort which friends and convivial companions allow themselves, a thing which is customary everywhere. Finally, it is asserted that this is a crime which does not keep magistrates too busy. One could reply that drunkenness has always been considered a scandal and an offense against God. It is always contrary, not only to Christians, but to all laws, as well as to the Christian Faith and to good morals.

Disregarding such reasons, I undertake this little history in order to make known [the fact that] insobriety among the Savages is quite a different species of vice than what it is among other

peoples, and to explain the as yet unknown fact that the Savages drink only for the purpose of becoming inebriated, and become so only to do evil.

The censure placed on drunkenness in Canada is a greater condemnation than anywhere else in the world. I hold then that the Savages in Canada do not drink brandy for pleasure as a potion agreeable or useful to life. On the contrary, though disliking it, the greater number of them drink because it deprives them of their senses and produces in them three effects. The first is that it enlivens their natural sluggishness, dispels their timidity, their sense of shame and inferiority, which their dull nature gives them. The second is that brandy causes them to undertake with vigor and bravado almost any evil action such as anger, vengeance, or impurity. The third is that their excesses of drinking and insobriety furnish them, by custom, a valid excuse for any evil which they might commit in such a condition. For the Savage, drunkenness is a voluntary frenzy which gives them courage and impunity as well as an excuse for their greatest excesses.

Evidently this is a peculiar kind of insobriety. If the laity were as convinced of this fact as are the missionaries from their long experience gathered by living with the Savages, the question of brandy regarding the Savages would not be treated as a matter of indifference. To offer convincing arguments, one should remember that these people are naturally sluggish, and their women timid and reserved. Whether from climate or education they are not readily aroused to action. They quarrel little. Excesses and impurity are frowned upon among them, not so much from a motive of human respect as from a sincere abhorrence of misbehaviour. The simple fact is that unless their even temper is aroused by some strange new principle or urged on by some custom, their sense of shame is overcome only with great difficulty.

Moreover, many of them are given to violent interior emotions of anger, hatred and other strong passions towards others, but above all to pride which urges them to wish to distinguish themselves and to seek admiration. From time immemorial they have been given to various superstitions and ceremonies which appear to confer on them preternatural powers. In this state of exaltation they are led to execute without any thought of the consequences whatever comes into their heads, doing and saying things which appear to make heroes of them. For this purpose they have a sort of annual carnival which they call "Gannonhaoury."

Secondly: They have all sorts of superstitious practices and incantations of the spirits which those who are not Christians practice in their countries. For example, four old women, almost nude, danced ceremoniously to discover who had cast a spell which caused the death of a sick person. Making an image of the possessed one they covered it with oil and threw it on the fire. Finally, when they celebrated some event they were accustomed to enliven themselves by using tobacco and announcing that they had been visited with certain dreams during the previous night. [They act thus] to indicate their sorrow, to appease or console themselves and to make heroes of themselves. All of this was permitted and became customary.

The Europeans, that is the French and the Dutch, found these customs in vogue when they arrived here. The French became allies of the Algonquins, the Hurons and the Iroquois. Long after, the Dutch opened commercial relations with the Iroquois. Since one uses in trade what one has, the Dutch gave them Rhomb de Biére and the French gave them brandy. The Savages soon came to desire these since by them they experience a new sort of elation which promptly and effectively achieved the end of taking them out of themselves.

SECOND ARTICLE

Physical Digression on the Nature of Brandy

The reader would not, perhaps, object were we to make a brief digression into chemistry and offer a brief discussion on the nature of brandy.

Doctors say with justice that brandy is a medicine, but not a food. They hold that it does not possess the qualities of nutriment. [They oppose] those who would classify brandy as Chyle and nourishment, maintaining that its components are sulphurs, oils and inflammables, and spirits. Taken in small quantities and not too frequently, brandy produces three good results. In warming the stomach it has the properties of a spirit, by giving vigor and pleasure to the user, that is to say strength of heart. Secondly, these liquors have a beneficial effect on the digestion of foods. Thirdly, noxious humors are dissipated and expelled. But when taken to excess, as is the case with the Savages, brandy does harm by its spirits and its headiness. For frequent stimulation of the nerve fibres of the

esophagus and stomach produces there a sort of [word missing] which renders them dry and rough, causing a feeing of thirst and debility. The palate and the members of the body which compose the organs of taste, becoming as it were burned and injured, lose the exquisite sensation of taste. Thus great drunkards have a liking only for brandy; to them wine becomes insipid. But what is worse, the stomach is no longer able to digest food, whether because of dryness it can no longer digest food, or being too chilled it lacks the vital juices. Secondly, brandy's heady character causes dizziness, whence it happens that the drunkard reels about, urged on by the vapors which cloud his head. Thirdly, the fumes, on reaching the brain, which is the center of the nerves render impotent the nerves which animate the muscles of the whole body. This does not immediately inhibit all natural reaction, however, for such a result would mean apoplexy or at least paralysis. But the nerves become over-burdened and vague in their reactions so that the muscles are feeble in the extremities of the body. The legs lack the power to support the weight of the body, whence comes staggering. The fingers no longer possess the ability to grasp what they hold. Whence it comes that the Savages, dressed only in blankets which are in no way fastened but only held by the hand, which relaxes in insobriety, allow their vesture to drop away. The inn-keepers take great care to gather up [the discarded blankets] and impound them. Fourthly, when brandy is frequently and copiously imbibed it causes the greatest disorders. The liver is chilled by the absence of vital chemicals which animate the nerve fibres. From this, dysentery, dropsy, pulmonary diseases, withering, attacks of fever, feeble-mindedness and paralysis.

To avoid discussing its effects at too great length, everyone has seen this combustible drink when brought near to fire. Anyone can see the caldrons, used in distilling the drink, corroded after three months use. Stomachs are certainly not as durable as the brass from which the caldrons are made.

But to return to Savages, I [offer] two remarks. The first which I said, they imbibe only to become drunk. To prove that they are fervent and scrupulous on the point, when they have only enough brandy to induce drunkenness for only one, if four are present, three will not even take a taste. But one will be chosen to have the privilege of becoming inebriated. Many say that they cannot become intoxicated on a single glass of brandy, that there is only one degree of drunkenness worth while, the sort which they

call "Gannontiouaratonseri," complete insobriety. And when they begin to feel the effects of the brandy they rejoice shouting, "Good, good, my head is reeling." Then they start to chant their "Gannonhaoury," into which they put all the evil which comes to mind.

At Orange, thirty Micouennes of brandy beer, which at Montreal is about a *pot,* or a *chopine*[3] is certain to produce the effect. A second thing is that one should see a group of Savages, covered with wounds, their stomachs and entrails blackened.

THIRD ARTICLE

Apology for the Iroquois Church

It would be a great injustice and an evidence of profound ignorance if what we said and will say about insobriety among the Savages were to engender indignation, horror and contempt for these poor wretches as unworthy of the love of the Church or incapable of [embracing] the Faith. Such sentiments are harsh and an error contrary to Christianity. The Jews thus once judged the Gentiles as unworthy of being admitted into the Church. God wishes all men to be saved. Our Lord died for all men. No people merited to receive the Faith by their works or their customs. The brutality of the Savages should give rise more to compassion than to indignation against them. Look at the poor Gentiles growing up in paganism. The ancient Gauls and many other races were no more enlightened before they had been refined by the doctrines of the Gospel. Two things may be said in favor of the Savages. The first is that as they have neither our avarice nor our ambition nor the greater number of pleasures which sustain our vices and concupiscences, ignorance of evil in their case contributes much towards a great innocence. The second observation by way of excusing their insobriety is that one might note that the failing is not general. On the contrary, almost all the old people and women do not drink. Secondly, the important personages or captains who have the management of affairs are given to sobriety. Also, there are a great number whose naturally noble characters and great modesty would allow them to pass anywhere as excellent

[3] One *pot* was 3.94 American pints. A *pot* of brandy was worth fifty livres, but in beaver pelts it easily brought a hundred livres; Jean Delanglez, "Antoine Laumet, *Alias* Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac 1694–1697," MID-AMERICA, XXVII (April, 1945), 121.

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people. Above all should be noted those whom the grace of Jesus Christ has snatched from the demon, many of whom possess a degree of sanctity which would shame many a Frenchman. However, this is not the place to discuss that subject.

Insobriety is, properly speaking, confined to the young people who are professedly given to bravado, whose pride urges them to seek notoriety whereby they may receive attention for some deed or other.

FOURTH ARTICLE

The Introduction of Brandy among the Savages

To return to the history of brandy, apart from the natural consequences which it produces in most men, its effects on the Savages were so marked from the very beginning that it was not long before one realized that insobriety among Savages was quite a different species than the same weakness among Europeans. For the Savages, having found a beverage which could so quickly and efficaciously enliven their dullness, take them out of themselves and give them thereby the ability and the bravado they desired, it was not long before drunkards could be seen killing one another, husbands burning their wives, women disgracing their husbands, fathers throwing their children into boiling caldrons. It is this sort of theng which has reduced the Algonquins from an army of two thousand men in the days of M. Laval, the old Bishop of Quebec, to a point where now they hardly number two hundred.

It was the Dutch themselves who gave rum to the Iroquois. This caused such cruel disorder among the nations that Major Andros, Governor of Orange and Menade [Manhattan] proposed to the Governor of Canada that they should jointly prohibit the sale of liquor to the Savages, each in his own territory.

But no one listened to the suggestion. The French have not ceased to spread the reign of brandy and the habit of insobriety to all the natives until the Ottawa, who at first bitterly opposed the drink, have become addicted to it, to their sorrow, and finally passionately attached to it. The French, perceiving the incontrollable appetite which the Savages had for this drink, sold it to them at fabulous prices. Secondly, realizing that there was no other kind of trade in which the customer could be so easily deceived, they began to adulterate liquor, mixing in dirty water and selling false measures. Thirdly, they set the price themselves and

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cheated the drunken Savages without fear of prosecution. One Frenchman near Three Rivers, whom I know, made a Savage named Lanneratondy believe that he had consumed fifty skins of *Original* in one night. No one knows what extremities were reached in cheating the Savages. Each missionary could furnish a long list of disasterous deaths which could be attributed to drunkenness. I will cite only such examples as I saw, or know of from first hand witnesses, over a period of eighteen years. Everywhere brandy flows freely and the habit of drinking enslaves more and more of the nations.

Two parties form and declare themselves, one for brandy and the other against it. The missionaries, perceiving the invention employed to destroy their labors so propitiously begun, did not hesitate to have recourse to M. de Laval, Bishop of Quebec, who valiantly attacked the brandy traffic by his censure. People were found to defend the practice. They had grandiose designs of immense fortunes to be made by the masters of the Commerce of the New World thus far explored and of that part still unknown. They gained the support of the Governor of Canada and the Company of the Indies. Thus two parties arose. The first was composed of the Bishop and the missionaries; the other, of the Governor and the Company.

Fifth Article

Divers Procedure of the two Parties

The first measure taken in the controversy was that the University of Toulouse was petitioned for consultation and decision. This body answered that trade in liquor was in itself an indifferent article of merchandise, that it could have good or bad use, just as in France it is lawful to sell swords and wine without inquiring into the use to which they are to be put. The opinion contains three reasons. The first: that this trade attracted the Savages to the French, that through this attraction they could be instructed and civilized. Secondly: that the Savages use it as do the French who employ it to strengthen themselves against the cold. Thirdly: that since the Dutch dispense it, if the French refrain the Savages would be drawn over to the heretics and the enemies of the Colony. All this they [the Governor's party] maintained underhandedly by presenting false reasons. It is easy to understand why the

Company of the Indies would be interested in a heavy brandy trade since it is a monopoly. Finally the Governor issued an ordinance whose purpose was, he said, to settle scruples and to support freedom of trade.

In opposition Bishop Laval issued an order by which he declared it sinful for anyone to inebriate the Savages or to give them brandy to carry away. He reserved the absolution of this sin to himself.

The Sorbonne has, on different occasions, given two decisions. The first, signed by M. Grandin Cornet[?]ti, declared that it was a gravely sinful matter, and hence one which might be reserved to the bishop, to contribute to the insobriety of the Savages. This decision was read from the pulpit by the order of and in the presence of the present Bishop on July 12, 1698.

The Sovereign Council of Quebec, in 16[79], issued an ordinance to the effect that. . . . . .[4]

M. Duchesnu [Duchesneau], Intendant in Canada, issued another in 16[?], prohibition tavern-keepers from taking the possessions of Savages as security for brandy.[5] The order for restoration, etc.

M. de Meusels [sic], also Intendant in Canada,[6] issued another order declaring that the last tavern-keeper at whose bar a drunken Savage imbibed would be condemned and fined fifty francs. Despite such rigid laws, the tavern-keepers continued with a boldness which gave them impunity to triumph over the cause of God.

Sixth Article

Description of the Insobriety of the Savages

One would need to witness the drunken Savages to be aware of all the horror and Bacchanalian excesses which occur. When one of them wishes to become inebriated in order to effect some evil design, he carries about under his blanket a tin can or a wooden

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[4] This probably refers to the ordinance issued by Louis XIV, May 24, 1679, and registered by the Sovereign Council in Quebec on October 16, 1679. The ordinance forbade the carrying of brandy to Indian villages, and hence was not satisfactory because it did not forbid the sale of whisky to Indians in the French villages; see Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 122.

[5] *Ibid.*, 9, 123, 126–128. Jacques Duchesneau arrived in Canada as Intendant in 1675 and was recalled in 1682, chiefly because of his opposition to Governor Frontenac's brandy trade.

[6] Jacques de Meulles, Sieur de la Source, was Intendant from 1682 to 1686.

jug, supplied by brandy sellers, which holds a sufficient amount of liquor to induce drunkenness.

They have no trouble in finding the means to their end, granting the unbridled freedom which the tavern-keepers supply them. But when some new police order suspends or punishes the donors, the Savages have a thousand subtle ways of evasion, in collecting at one place or another a drop or two which they put into their jug until they have collected enough to make themselves drunk. Then they take to drinking without eating (for eating would inhibit the effects of the brandy). When they feel their heads beginning to swim, they rejoice and start to chant their death song into which they pour all their imprecations against their enemies. Once inebriated, they throw off their clothing, or let it drop, and running about the town naked they beat one another. They bite each other's noses and ears so that there are few whole, entire visages remaining. They run about howling with knives in their hands; they delight in seeing their women and children fleeing before them, as if they were masters of the World. Behold, this is what one often sees in Montreal.

But with the coming of night the horrors are augmented. When the soldiers of the garrison are obliged to return from the city to their villages, as for example to the Sault,[7] to Montagne or to Riviere des Prairies, they encounter drunken Savages howling and shouting their Gannonhaoury and doing all the damage they can on the road. Some kill the stock which they find. Others break into the houses on the road to the Sault, causing the dwellers to flee as from the Iroquois. Still others violate French women. A week ago two women were attacked. One was violated on the road to the Sault; the other barely escaped this tragedy. When the Savages who live on this Island return to their cabins in a drunken state they often throw fire from the hearth on the bark of the dwelling. They snatch up hatchets and swords and fire off their guns, all the while running stark naked from cabin to cabin. It was in one of these dreadful orgies, on September 11, 1694, that a young Montagne brave, being offended and wishing to vindicate his honor, after making a great noise, went to fire off his gun into the cabin of his enemy. Everyone fled before him. Fire struck the bark of the cabin and ignited a sack of powder. A heavy wind whipped up the blaze and consumed the cabin in a moment.

[7] Sault au Recollet on the northwest side of the Island of Montreal or Sault Saint-Louis on the south.

In three hours fifty cabins of the Savages were destroyed besides fifteen French houses built of wood besides a beautifully vaulted and panelled church and the village stockade of wooden palings. The total cost of the damage was twenty-three thousand francs.

It is a wonder that such a tragedy has not happened to Ville-Marie. But that kind of catastrophe will happen some day.

In order to have money for liquor the Savages keep themselves in penury. They steal clothes, blankets, and even food from their wives and children, a practice which reduces the poor creatures to despair and causes divorces and a thousand evils.

As if all this did not suffice, they invent new methods of satisfying their thirst. They borrow on the fruits of the future hunt, a blanket, for example, or a shirt. These articles are sold at high prices since the transactions are not on a cash basis. Then they go to the tavern-keeper who gives them a pint of brandy worth ten or twelve francs for their high priced goods. The merchants are foolish to extend credit, for the Savages borrow readily with no intention of paying debts. Instead, when debts overwhelm them, they flee to the Iroquois or to the Ottawas.

Seventh Article

Fatal End of Savages at the Mission on Lake Ontario

At Ganandoxe,[8] in 1671, a group of traders inebriated a party of Sonontaono [Seneca] hunters. One of them died after continuing in a drunken and impure state for many days.

At Ganneyous,[9] two inebriates fought one another in a drunken brawl incited by traders from Fort Niagara. One kicked the other, dislocating his jaw, which was never set. He continued with his mouth horribly agape until he died.

Again, at Ganneyous, a Savage woman named Kibkit was knifed to death. A little later, at Kente,[10] another woman was killed by a drunkard. At Niagara, Tonanouonnon had his throat cut.

Again, Honnonchiaoue was stabbed to death.

Again, Aouegouch. At Tcheiagon, two women.

At Three Rivers, M. d'Olier found a decapitated body on the road. It was the body of a Mohegan, killed in a brawl.

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[8] Iroquois village near the site of Toronto.

[9] Iroquois village on the north shore of Lake Ontario near the present Napanee, Ontario.

[10] A Cayuga village on Quinte Bay.

[There follows a list of disasters from brandy at Montreal]

Two drunkards from the Sault were drowned at Chateauguay, after two days of drinking.

1683. Again, another was drowned in a watering place for horses which had been frozen over.

1684. Garao, a nephew of Onnanouaterao, when drunk, was frozen to death while crossing the Lake.

1686. [word missing] fell and froze to death on the surface of the Lake of the Two Mountains. They found his almost empty keg beside him. Garaxe saw the incident.

1680. Eskannious' daughter, when pregnant, drowned at Roland's house while she was drunk.

1680. Again, at the same place, two Savages killed one another in a knifing. A similar incident happened in 1693. Again, at the foot of the Island, a certain Provinçal was strangled and scalped by a drunken Savage.

1688. A man named Grandmaison, on his way to Ft. Frontenac, inebriated a Mohawk, who capsized and drowned with three children while crossing the river. A strange coincidence! The following year at almost the same time, Grandmaison was ambushed at the same place by the Iroquois. He was one of nine killed, and all the goods which he was bringing to Ft. Frontenac for the garrison were seized.

EIGHTH ARTICLE

Evils Caused by the Drunkeness of Savages

Tegaraoueron, a Savage from the Sault, became enibriated at Lachine. He met a little girl herding some cattle. Having violated her, he stabbed her to death to hide the evil cruelty. When the child's father demanded justice, the danger of stirring up a revolt was pointed out to him for the Savages at the Sault were threatening war.

Sacking of the Parish of Lachine on the Island of Montreal, where brandy is sold in great quantities. Four days later[11] occurred the fatal and unforgettable day on which the Savages exercised all the cruelty they knew and even surpassed themselves, leaving over an area of seven leagues, the vestiges of drunken barbarity. Women were impaled, children roasted over hot coals, all the

11 August 25, 1689.

houses burned, the stock slaughtered, ninety people taken captive and cruelly burned, immolated to the vengeance of the Iroquois. The parish of Lachine was and still is the most infamous center of Savage insobriety.

During this terrible disaster, God seemed to have removed all ability for action and council from the French who were shamefully vanquished, insulted and mocked by the Savages who, with cries of victory, led off the sorry band of prisoners, weeping and bewailing, under the very eyes of the French. The father of the child whom Tegaraoueron violated came to Ville-Marie and shouted: "They would not give me justice, but God has given it [to me]." The wretched Savage who was responsible for the crime did not escape the vengeance of God, for he was killed the next year in a battle with the Mohegans.

Pest and Famine. 1690. The massacre and sacking of the parish of Lachine had been preceded by a species of pest or contageous disease which had taken the lives of 1,400 people in Canada in 1687. This was followed by a famine which lasted several years. The beginning of the famine was manifestly attributed to an infamous drinking bout which took place at Lachine. The participants were about eighty canoes of Ottawa and Hurons who came down in 1690, and indulged in drinking in a frightening manner. That year, the harvest was the best in the world. On the morrow of the drinking bout, the grain was found rusted and shrivelled from a [frost]. From that time, corn has cost upwards of ten and twelve francs the minot. One would have to be blind not to attribute other misfortunes which have befallen the country to the disorders of brandy.

Irruptions of the Iroquois against the Montagne. The Savages of the Montagne [Mission of the Mountain] have not been spared. In the month of May, that year, seventy Iroquois, coming in three groups to the edge of the forest, suddenly fell on the men and women planting Indian corn, seized thirty of them and killed six. Unfortunately, Montreal, only a stone's throw away, could give no help. That place is the source of their drunkenness and sin. The insolent Savages captured their prey to the shame of the French.

A day at Prairie de Madeleine. The same year, on the 10th of August, a similar punishment was visited on Prairie de Madeleine, where all the French forces were encamped. The blow fell on the night chosen for a drunken celebration by the French, during which some of them with excessive brutality had sinned with an old Savage

woman of the Sault. The next morning, the feast of St. Lawrence, one hundred and forty Englishmen with eighty Mohegans, stealing up a ravine back of the mill and killing the sleeping sentinel, surprised the camp in which almost everyone was asleep or drunk. The enemy scalped six Ottawa and killed twenty of the inhabitants as well as four captains who ran to the gate of the Fort of la Prairie as the enemy pressed to enter and sack it. It is true that while the English were retreating, they were valiantly defeated by MM. Valrennes and Demuy.

1690. In 1690 a Savage named Sonaouenton killed another named Kentaratyron, the people of the village of the Sault having retired into this town. A Savage called Sormaches, of the Sault, was killed by a knife thrust which entered the crook of his elbow, severing three veins and causing him to bleed to death during the night. He was found thus in the morning. The same year, during the trading with the Outaouais, a Huron from Etyonnontate was stabbed during a drunken brawl.

1692. In 1692 an Indian named Ossirynontiata, of the Montagne, being drunk on a very cold night, fell while going to Montagne and was found frozen to death in the morning.

1694. In 1694, a Savage called Sokaka, also of the Montagne was frozen passing the Sault and died when he arrived. The same year one of them named Og8ar8ata, also from Montagne threw his wife down from the top of the palisade of the fort, whence she died.

1695. In 1695 a Savage called Onontaoure, broke his wife's head in the middle of the village.

1697. In 1697 the mother of one called Assynnare was found one morning dead at the door of a cabin where she had been drinking. The same year, a Huron from Etyonnontate while drunk at Lachine killed his own sister with a dagger.

1698. In 1698 a Savage named Synnonky, from the Sault, was killed by an Algonquin. This was the basis for undying war between the two nations. They always attack one another in a drinking bout. Lately another Savage from Riviere des Prairies was knifed and is not yet dead. Again, during the same year, one called Gassarias, a woman, was found at the exit of the town drunk and naked, frozen dead during the bitter December weather.

1699. In 1699 a drunken Algonquin was found dead in January, at the foot of the Long Sault.

Tragic deaths of traders in brandy. During the Carnival in

167[?] six traders from Fort Katarak8y named Duplessis, Ptolémée, Dautru, Lamouche, Colin and Cascaret, inebriated the village of Taheyagon, in which all the Savages were drunk for three days. The old people, the women, the children, everyone was inebriated. After that the six traders performed the debauch which the Savages call Gan8ary, in which one runs about stark naked carrying a keg of brandy under the arm.

All of these traders came to a miserable end. Duplessis died at Barboude [Barbados] where he was sold by the English. Ptolémée was drowned when his canoe capsized on a rock, which to this day bears his name, the Sault Ptolémée. Duatru was drowned in Lake Huron when M. de la Salle's barque went down. Lamouche was drowned at the mouth of the Saint Anne River with a man named Lanodiere. Colin was burned at the stake by the Iroquois in 1692, when he went on a diplomatic mission with M. le Chevalier d'Eau. Cascaret died, unshriven, in the house of a surgeon at Montreal, stricken with small pox. Also, a man named Lacauce was found to have been torn by eagles at Pointe a Baudet in Lake Saint Francis. He was a famous libertine and a treacherous trader in brandy.

There is not a missionary who could not furnish a similar "martyrology" with other cases.

NINTH ARTICLE

Detailed Account of Brandy and What It Does to the Indians of Canada

The amount of brandy carried to Mackinac [Michilimackinac] and to other frontiers would amount to about forty casks.

At Montreal liquor can be sold to visiting Savages, for example, the Algonquins, Hurons and Ottawas, in three trading periods which last about a week. Approximately a dozen casks are used on each of these occasions. About eight casks are sent to the Montagne. The Savages at the Sault use nearly twice that amount. Three Rivers consumes approximately a dozen casks. Nearly the same number are used at Quebec.

Altogether this totals one hundred casks on which the Company levies an import tax of twenty francs, which amounts to two women aborted, Savages unable to pay debts and absconding, Sav- thousand livres for the shipment. The King loses in men killed,

ages whose drunkenness renders them useless to help against Iroquois raids, and better than twenty hunters a year who would bring in at least two thousand crowns worth of skins each year.

It is evident that the King suffers great annual losses because of insobriety. Every year he loses two thousand crowns in peltries from brandy which returns to him only two thousand francs.

Secondly, the King does not need to defile his treasury with gains which are so injurious to God.

Thirdly, the services which the King receives from the Savages when they are his subjects, and the damage which he receives from them when they are his enemies, is not comparable to this unjust gain.

Fourthly, I say nothing about the malediction and vengeance of God on the colony nor the lack of order and inconvenience which the Savages cause the French. One of these is the constant danger of fire to Ville-Marie.

Tenth Article

Details of Underhanded Gains of the Tavern-keepers

To Those who inebriate the Savages. It should be noted that Ville-Marie is the center of the greatest and most thriving brandy trade. Nevertheless it is only with difficulty that the dealers can obtain thirty-five or at most forty casks, namely, twelve casks during the three trading periods with the visitors, and twenty or thirty casks for the Savages of the colony. Secondly, it is to be noted that there are ten or more tavern-keepers who cater to the Savages, a fact which is no small disadvantage to those who must divide up the profits from the sale of a mere forty casks of brandy. Thirdly, it may also be remarked that these people have no other business nor have they any other means of livelihood.

Meanwhile, it is very expensive to live in Montreal. Famines are frequent. The recent war has effected a rise in prices. Rents are very high, especially in that part of the town frequented by drunkards, which is the business district. Since all of the tavern-keepers have wives and children to support, necessity forces them to have recourse to certain underhanded practices without which the business would not support them.

First, their prices are higher than those in France.

Secondly, they adulterate their liquor with dirty water, a fact which we know from the deposition of a soldier who lived for

three years with the most notorious of the tavern-keepers. That man always turned a half cask into a full one.

Thirdly, the Savages declare that urine is added. When a certain laborer stopped in a tavern for a drink and the potion gave him heart burn, the mistress said to the bar-maid: "Did you take that from the cask reserved for the Savages?"

Fourthly, they take the clothes of the Savages in pawn. Since the Savages never remember where they drank, the tavern-keepers confiscate or alter them.

Fifthly, they rob and beat the drunken Savages, taking their money and their clothes.

It is said that some of the tavern-keepers collect some five hundred francs worth of clothing in a month. They gain more profit from this than from the sale of brandy, which is little more than a pretext to conceal a sort of legalized brigandage. The places allowed to cater to the Savages are in the very middle of the town, and in those infamous resorts all sorts of impurities are committed. The taverns are often covered with the gore of Savages who died with their throats cut. Behold the sort of place where the brandy trade is carried on. A fine business, this, which people do here and in France! What an honest trade is this which a gracious King grants to his upright subjects so that they might make an honest living and entice the Savages instead of civilizing them! At least, these are the reasons proposed by the University of Toulouse in 167[?]. Such reasons are hardly of any moment when it is evident that many of the Savages, even of the Iroquois, would embrace Christianity were they not groaning under the tyranny of the dispensers of brandy. The Dutch at Orange, who were quite willing to restrain the traffic in liquor, do not fail to point out that it is carried on in Montreal. Secondly, it is certain that many of the Savages leave because of the impossibility of ever paying their debts contracted [from drinking] brandy. Thirdly, as it is always impossible to restrain a Savage who takes to the field, it is equally to be feared that those who remain here will be moved to leave by the same motive which urged the Mohegans to go away after the ravages of the whole south coast.

It was because of the debts contracted by the Mohegans at Three Rivers that they departed, and it will be the debts into which the Savages got themselves at Montreal which will drive them off. For they have done no more than to borrow four beaver pelts worth of clothes with one hand to get a pint of brandy with the other.

ELEVENTH ARTICLE

Regulations Which Have Been Ordered Observed at Montreal

1. There is no city in the civilized world where tavern-keepers or bars ought not to be approved by the Governor, the Magistrate and certified by the Pastor.

2. Consequently, delinquents can be suspended and fined, and should they persist, banished.

3. It is the custom and an order that during divine services liquor is not sold.

4. It is an order that weapons and clothes be restored to the Savages.

5. They will follow the order that drunken Savages who disturb the peace be put in jail.

6. There are ordinances which direct that the last person who is responsible for a drunkard be fined.

7. Your insobriety calls down on you pestilence, war and the King has directed that trade take place in only three cities in Canada.

8. Informers and those who testify will be given a share of the fines.

Divers Exhortations to Savages Given to Drink

It is utterly useless to suggest reasons from a motive of Faith to restrain you from drinking. You have heard those hundreds of times:

1. God detests a drunkard with profound aversion.

2. The Holy Spirit Who was in your heart leaves at the entrance of insobriety.

3. The demon enters.

4. Your souls become vile and ugly.

5. You sell your soul and your salvation for a *demi-arr.*

6. Brandy will be the inextinguishable fire with which you will burn in hell.

7. Your insobriety calls down on you pestilence, war and famine.

8. You cease to frequent the Sacraments and lose the Faith.

9. Finally, crushed by debts, you give up the Faith. None of this moves you any more than do natural reasons.

1. You ruin your health. The very caldrons are ruined by the power of brandy. You become consumptive, whence your liver turn black. You do not live as long as your ancestors who were here before brandy was introduced.

2. You run the risk of being stabbed or frozen or drowned, or any number of other fates.

3. You become like the swine, wallowing in the dirt, hated, scorned and mocked by everyone.

4. Your self-respect is lost, destroying your reputation with the French as well as with your own people.

5. As your clothes no longer stay on your bodies and your hands are weakened by brandy, you lose your coverings and are stripped by the soldiers who, seeing you going so nimble and brave to the tavern, follow you, as a beaver or a bear to the trap, to strip you. They rip off your clothes, make mittens of them, dress themselves in them, etc.

6. You pay high prices for a little brandy, stripping and despoiling your families.

7. You are hated by your wives and the Blackrobes.

8. You crack the skulls of your friends, burn your villages, beat your wives and destroy your harvest. This it not being an important person, a friend, a son or a husband. Rather it is being a killer, a drunkard, an enemy, just as the Iroquois were.

9. Even the horse stops drinking when his thirst is quenched.

10. Drink is treacherous. One cannot even taste it without becoming drunk. You drink without eating.

11. The tavern-keepers mix urine with their brandy.

12. Brandy is a medicine, not a food. Would you take the same amount as a purgative?

13. Your drinking habits are not like those of other people. You imbibe only to get drunk so that you may beat one another.

14. When you start drinking it seems that you say: "I choose this so that it may bite my nose [i.e. make me quarrelsome]."

15. Why do you shout? Why don't you sleep?

16. You should not go into the village with drunkards if you want to overcome the habit.

Dialogue of a Missionary and a Savage on the Drunkenness of Savages

The Savage: We admit that the demon of drunkenness turns our heads, but we believe that you Blackrobes are of a different nature than ourselves. You saintly people should not drink. But we think that for ourselves insobriety belongs to our nature.

The Missionary: Everyone must gain heaven. Drunkards will not reach it for their presence would destroy that beautiful country and no one would be happy. Neither the Savage nor the Blackrobes should drink. God is the Lord of Savages as well as of the Blackrobes. All men are equally obliged to obey Him. God hates drunkards because He is Virtue Itself. The Savages are as much obliged to hate drunkenness as are the Blackrobes.

The Savage: It is the accomplishment of any person of importance, a captain, to be able to get drunk, to teach his companions to drink, to burn the cabins of those who do not listen to him, to make women and children flee, and to make himself feared.

The Missionary: Do you say that a drunkard is a person of importance? You have not watched him when he is drunk and his head spinning. He falls down and rolls in the dirt like a pig; he gets sick; he loses all spirit. The French beat him, chase and despoil him. Everyone hates him. Do you consider this being an important person?

The Savage: You, yourself, say that whatever God made is good. God made brandy just as he made everything else. He made it for the service of men. You are wrong then in forbidding us to use it.

The Missionary: It is true that God made brandy, but not for drunkenness. He made it as a medicine, but not for drinking by the bucket as you do. What would you say if, after being given a dose of medicine, I should wish you to take a whole cask of it? You would refuse. Brandy is good for those who know how to use it, but it is dangerous for those who have a weakness for it such as the Savages have. A knife is good, but it is dangerous in the hands of a child.

The Savage: But the French drink. They taught us to do so. They sell the brandy to us. In spite of this the French are great men who have their place in heaven. They are the first Christians. We will, therefore, be happy in heaven if we follow their example.

The Missionary: There are two kinds of French just as there are two kinds of Christians. One kind are scroundrels, depicable people, whom we despise, and who will be damned. These are the ones who sell you brandy. The other sort of French are the important people, good Christians, fine people. Imitate this latter sort of French, not the others.

The Savage: If I did not drink, no one would be afraid of me. Among us no one beats another except when he is drunk. Drunkenness excuses everything. And besides, the young people are thereby more obedient.

The Missionary: It is the demon who established the custom among you of not punishing the drunkard. At least you should tie them up to prevent evil. You say that the young people obey you better. On the contrary, you lose your nobility. Your followers no longer listen to you when you reprimand them. They say to you: "Correct yourself first." It is the business of a person of importance to do honor to the land and to avoid giving bad example.

The End

Book Reviews

A History of Soviet Russia: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923, Volume I. By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillian, New York, 1951. Pp. 430. $5.

Professor Carr, former Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University of Wales and the recent Albert Shaw Lecturer on History at John Hopkins, has here written a significant contribution to the history of the Soviet Union. His two companion volumes: "The Economic Order" and "Soviet Russia and the World" are being published, and he has another set of books, "The Struggle for Power, 1923–1928," in preparation.

The Bolshevik Revolution consists of three parts. Part I, "The Man and the Instrument" gives an account of events from 1898, when the Russian Social-Democratic Worker's Party was founded, to the October Revolution of 1917. Part II, "The Constitutional Structure" deals with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Constitution of the RSFSR, and the concentration of all powers within the communist party until the party and the State became one. Part III, "Dispersal and Reunion" analyses the methods by which the Bolsheviks regained the lost territories of the former Russian empire. It also examines the Bolshevik doctrine of self-determination in theory and its practical application to the Western and Eastern borderlands, Central Asia, Caucasus and Siberia. The book ends with a discussion of the Constitution of the USSR.

The enormous amount of painstaking research that has gone into this book is based almost exclusively on Lenin's and other revolutionaries' works and the official Soviet sources. No other book in the English language gives such a complete account of the congresses, resolutions, debates, policies and the names of practically every person who played an important part during this period.

"The Bolshevik Revolution" begins with a detailed account of the introduction of Marxism into Russia; the division of the Russian Marxists into various factions and political parties of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. It contrasts their aspirations, theories and methods used in acheiving their aims. But the real hero of the book is Lenin. Professor Carr shows vividly Lenin's ascendancy to power among the revolutionaries, his building of the Bolshevik party, his actions during and after the revolution. He shows how Lenin reduced his opponents to impotence and destroyed the February revolution, won the Civil War, made the Communist Party, with himself as its dictator, the supreme power of Russia, and forced the lost territories back under his control.

Professor Carr admires Lenin. Lenin was far-sighted "in building up impregnable positions" with "an uncanny instinct which told him where and when and how to strike or to hold back." He was the greatest revolutionary of all time and "a great constructive statesman." Professor Carr justifies Lenin's methods and policies on the ground "that bourgeois democracy and bourgeois capitalism on the western model which was what the

Mensheviks wanted and expected, could not be rooted in Russia soil, so that Lenin's policy was the only conceivable one in the empirical terms of current Russian politics." In the light of historical facts, Professor Carr's criterion for the justification of Lenin's policy is untenable.

During the 19th century Russia made steady progress toward democracy: the Speransky legal reforms, the great social reform of 1861, the development of local self-governments (Zemstvos), the rise of many political parties, the Constitution of 1905 which introduced civil liberties, the Duma (Parliament) which included the representatives of every revolutionary party including the Bolsheviks, the phenomenal industrial growth, the Stolipin agrarian reforms, which by 1914 helped two million peasant families to become independent farmers (during the five year plans, the Soviet government uprooted more than two million peasants, banishing them to various labor camps), all these institutions had established deep roots in Russian soil. Professor Sorokin, a former revolutionary himself, says: "Russia made up for her previous 'backwardness and lethargy' by evolving in a remarkably short span of time a sociopolitical system that was in a real sense the equal of the democratic systems of most republics. Had there been no World War I the whole transition of Russia to the status of one of the most free, prosperous and creative nations would have been accomplished peacefully, without any revolution."

The February revolution was caused by and occurred during World War I; yet it was a democratic and peaceful revolution. The Provisional government would have solved its internal and external problems. But Lenin did not give it a chance. To come to power, he resorted to violence. For Professor Carr, however, the main fact is that Lenin was victorious. Professor Laski in his analysis of "The Communis Theory of the State" rejects the use of violence. He writes: "To resort to violence, even if it be successful, means trusting the officials who control the application of violence. It does not mean liberty; it does not mean equality; and it does not mean justice. It means the despotic application of power by men whose intentions, however admirable, are the creatures of circumstances."

Plekhanov, Lenin's mentor, long before the revolution, foresaw what would happen if Lenin came to power. As Professor Carr relates, Plekhanov accused Lenin of "confusing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship over the proletariat," and of practicing "Bonapartism, if not absolute monarchy in the old pre-revolutionary style." If Lenin's ideas prevail, Plekhanov foretold, "everything will in the last resort revolve around one man who *ex providentia* will unite all powers in himself." Plekhanov, indeed, had a prophetic mind.

Lenin came to and continued in power by violence. He destroyed the February Revolution which made the Russian people free. He "torpedoed" the Constituent Assembly, a body of delegates with the peoples' mandate to choose a permanent government. He unleashed the Red Terror that continues unabated until this day. He declared war on religion. When the cannons of the Kronstadt sailors turned against the October Revolution, Lenin quickly introduced the New Economic Policy. When a German general struck the table with his fist, Lenin signed the Brest-Litvosk Treaty. He reduced the country to a level of starvation that caused millions of deaths.

Lenin, to remain in power, was ready to accept any deal, and to compromise with anyone. Professor Carr shows how Lenin compromised and broke with various parties and changed his position on the question of peasantry. He looked down upon the masses and he did not respect ideas other than his own. Only his elaboration of Marx's theories was correct; Plekhanov, Kautsky, Bernstein and others were deviators and renegades. During the revolution, he kept the party together by iron discipline; after his death, the party split into hostile factions. Stalin's purges took care of the opposition.

A year before his death Lenin boasted: "Napoleon, one recalls, wrote: "On s'engage et puis on voit." Translated freely this means: first engage in the fight and then see what happens. Well, we did first engage in a serious fight in October, 1917. . . . And now there can be no doubt that in the main we have been victorious."

Professor Carr's book is an account of the most ruthless and unscrupulous power politics of the period. It is imperative that thoughtful men and women read and ponder its content. If they will approach the book not from the point of view that might is right, but from the moral point of view, that right is might, they will see Lenin as the greatest revolutionary adventurer and a most ruthless opportunist.

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On Good Ground: The Story of the Sisters of Saint Joseph in Saunt Paul. By Sister Helen Angela Hurley, Ph.D. The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1951. Pp. xvi, 312. $3.75.

This is the story of the first century of work done by the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondolet in the Saint Paul area. Since such centenary publications are often neither good history nor good literature, Sister Angela's account is a most pleasant exception; it excells on both scores.

Working with a paucity of records for the first part of her period, 1851-1951, the author has managed to present a wholly readable story of the life of the early settlers and the beginnings of Catholic education under the auspices of the heroic sisters. From the early days of Pig's Eye, later named Saint Paul from the patron of the first Catholic church there, the Church played an important role in the Twin City area. The progressive work of bishops like Cretin, Grace, and Ireland, was matched by the devoted labor of the Sisters of Saint Joseph. There are excellent accounts, too, of some of the early missionary priests, as the noted Father Samuel Mazzuchelli—Father "Matthew Kelly" to his Hibernian parishioners at Galena; the incredible Father De Vivaldi, of whom Bishop Cretin said in 1853: "One is obliged on certain occasions to close his eyes tight on things and pray"; Erick L. Peterson, the only Norwegian priest in the United States, who was ordained in Saint Paul in 1872; Father Joseph Goiffon and so many others. Some of the most interesting

pages of the book are devoted to the struggle of the church and the sisters against the Native Americans and the Know-Nothings. In these early letters and newspaper accounts one catches a glimpse of the heroic and generous spirit of the Sisters of Saint Joseph.

The 1880's saw the beginning of the "Ireland Era," not only for Saint Paul but for the sisters as well. In 1882 Mother Seraphine Ireland became the provincial of the congregation; two years later her brother became Bishop of Saint Paul, and in 1886 Archbishop. The Irelands, for it seems that they can be conceived of as one, were people with a purpose. The Archbishop was the essence of staunch Americanism, and had no time for the pettiness of bigotry; he made Saint Paul known throughout the world as a center of Catholic life. His sister during the same period supervised the establishment of thirty-seven religious communities of her congregation. During this period the Sisters of Saint Joseph pioneered the work of better Catholic higher education of women, and sought a better trained teacher personnel with degrees from outstanding universities.

In 1951 there are more than a thousand sisters in the Saint Paul area engaged in a vast work of education, nursing, and care for the infant and the orphan. The four sisters who arrived in 1851 did plant on good ground.

Sister Angela calls her book a "story," and so it reads. Because of the fine blending of the work of the sisters with an account of their religious spirit and training, one comprehends not only what they did but the spirit that animated them. There is however one objection: little is said of the sisters of our own day. This is probably in deference to Mother Saint John Fournier, one of the first sisters to come to Saint Paul, who said that the Sisters of Saint Joseph "were not to show themselves and were to remain in a corner."

On Good Ground continues the splendid tradition of the University of Minnesota Press; it has excellent printing, fine make-up, helpful maps and pictures, along with a very detailed index.

JOHN A. KEMP

Loyola University, Chicago

Caudillo, A Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco. By George S. Wise. Columbia University Press, New York, 1951. Pp. 190.

Caudillo was published last November in the customary fine format of the Columbia University Press. In brief, it is the story of one of the many Latin American dictators who have looted the public treasury, confiscated private properties, sold out to foreign or local concessionaries to their own profit, exploited the people, and, after a reign of force and terror, departed for healthier climes with ample wealth for their years of retirement. This Guzmán Blanco was the Iron Man of Venezuela from 1870

through 1888, a destroyer of all human rights, without whose existence Venezuela and the world would be much better off.

Given a character as ruthless and greedy as Guzmán Blanco, the reader sits back to see how the author handles his biographee. The structure of Dr. Wise's book is unusual. The first two chapters describe the institutions of colonial times, rather briefly, and it would seem without necessity, since they had all disappeared by 1870. Unfortunately, there is nothing said about Simón Bolívar, a destroyer of all sane institutions and rights and a paragon for Guzmá Blanco. A chapter tells of the manipulations of the caudillo presidents of Venezuela from 1830 to 1863, and another describes Guzmán Blanco's rise and bloody entrance into Caracas. Here the author makes an interesting departure from formal biography. He traces the political activities of the caudillo, giving the salient dates and facts until his death in Paris in 1899. Then he retraces this historical résumé with four chapters on aspects of a Caudillo regime, namely, Ideological Irresponsibility, The Unqualified Use of Force, Financial Chicanery, and Personalism. These essays may well be called the contribution of Dr. Wise to the study of caudillo mentality. They are well worth reading.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comments

Willard L. Beaulac, at present United States Ambassador to Colombia, has written an engaging account of his life in our Foreign Service for a quarter of a century, which was published at the end of last year by Macmillan under the title *Career Ambassador.* For the general reader this will prove informative and pleasant reading about the rise of a genial diplomat whose vocation to serve his country far from its amenities has set him apart from the stay-at-home servants of our republic. The nature of Beaulac's vocation is abundantly unfolded in the graphic illustrations of his duties in various missions from the days of his youthful enthusiasm in lesser posts to these times of his maturity as an ambassador.

The style of the book is that of a man long in love with his work. This attachment seems to have sprouted after he had become the first graduate of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. When entering the School his intention was to be engaged in some foreign commercial enterprise rather than in the consular service. Since foreign business was in a slump in 1921 Beaulac applied for examination by the Department of State, which was then inaugurating the good-will policy and repudiating the diplomatic activities that had been going on for a score of years under the heading of imperialism. Throughout his work Beaulac typifies the new policy and unhesitatingly condemns interference in the internal affairs of the nations of Latin America while promoting the spirit of the Good Neighbor.

The inadequacies of budget and personnel of the Department, the penurious allowances for quarters and subsistence and salaries are presented rather as attractions to a difficult walk of life than as criticism. Loyalty to his cause should carry the Foreign Service man through. Beaulac should have been disillusioned with his first assignment to the oleaginous post at Tampico, Mexico, where there was little of finesse and much of clerical work, and brushes with such unsavory persons as gather around oil camps. The reward for such service was a consular rank in an Honduras more beknighted than Mexico. As a diversion from revolutions Beaulac was off to Chile with Pershing for the attempted settlement of the ancient Tacna-Arica dispute. Next there were missions to Haiti

and Nicaragua, where intervention was the policy. In 1931 Managua was destroyed by an earthquake and fire. Narrowly escaping death Beaulac, the members of the legation and the Marines spent two months in the relief and rehabilitation of the city. After a desk job in Washington he was sent to Cuba and, in 1939, to Spain. How Spain was kept neutral during the term of Ambassador Hayes is told with exceptional clarity by Beaulac in four chapters. Toward the end of the war Beaulac was named Ambassador to Paraguay, the hermit dictatorship. Appointed Ambassador to Colombia the career diplomat describes graphically the uprising in Bogotá during the Ninth International Conference of American States, proving clearly its Communist origin, purpose and conduct.

* * * *

Martha Ferguson McKeown finished the third of her books on the doings of her Uncle Mont Hawthorne and it was published by Macmillan in November, 1951. It is *Alaska Silver,* and with its forerunners, *Them Was the Days* and *The Trail Led North,* it completes a notable trilogy. *Alaska Silver* is Mont's remembrances of the part which he played in the opening of the salmon canning industry at Cook Inlet, Kell Bay, and Kasaan. Mrs. McKeown has done again a remarkable work in taking down the account from the lips of her eighty-six year old uncle, who in turn has performed a remarkable feat of memory. Emerging from the wealth of incidents is a real "character" or, perhaps two, since we once more meet with Mont's Mama. The pages contain many shrewd observations, but their chief value lies in the graphic story of the salmon in the days of the salmon butchers before the advent of the "Iron Chink." There are interesting sidelights on the international disputes over boundaries and fishing rights in these reminiscences of a pioneer.

* * * *

Since 1930 Father Johannes Dindinger, O.M.I., has been a godsend to Catholic bibliography. After the death of Father Streit he has acted with Father Rommerskirchen, also an Oblate, as a continuator of the famous bibliography of the missions. Besides publishing books with lists of writings on special fields Father

Dindinger has been editing the *Bibliotheca Missionum* at Rome since 1934. Born in Alsace-Lorraine in 1881, he has arrived at his seventieth year. As a tribute to him the Päpstliches Werk der Glaubensvertreitung, Aachen, has published *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien,* Festschrift für Professor Dr. Dindinger. The volume with paper cover is in 440 pages. It contains thirty-one papers. One of these is in English, while the others are in German, French, Italian, Latin, Spanish and Dutch. The majority are on missionary ideals and theological aspects of the spread of Christianity in the foreign missions from the thirteenth century, though several are of a documentary nature. Among the contributors are Professors Robert Becker, Max Bierbaum, André Seumois, Ting Pong Lee, Joseph Peters, Georg Schurhammer, Romano Primon, Olegario Dominguez, Thomas Ohm, Pio M. de Mondreganes, and Benno Biermann. With these writers and with many others who are indebted to Father Dindinger we wish to extend our felicitations to him and to wish him many more years of fruitful service.

* * * *

South Dakota Historical Collections and Report, Volume XXV, 1950, contains "Early Explorations and Fur Trading in South Dakota," a 210 page article by Professor Donald D. Parker, and a fifty page illustrated article on "South Dakota Stage and Wagon Roads," by Hyman Palais, with maps and footnotes by Will G. Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society. Robinson has also a well indexed list of "Members of the Territorial Legislature of Dakota," running from page 384 to 461 of this volume. There are besides shorter papers of interest.

* * * *

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, for April, 1950, which has only recently come from the press, is called the Charles Gayarré Number. The first of four papers on Gayarré is a biographical sketch by Grace King. He was baptized in the Cathedral of New Orleans by Father Antonio de Sedilla in January, 1805, and was buried from the same church in 1895. During his ninety years he became known as the literary historian of Louisiana. After the sketch there are "Some Inedited Gayarré Manuscripts," presented

by Edward A. Parsons, "Tribunals of Criminal Jurisdiction in Ancient Rome," a paper by Charles Gayarré, and "Some Letters of Charles Etienne Gayarré on Literature and Politics, 1854–1885." The two concluding articles are "Louisiana's Literary Historian," by Wilford B. Yearns, Jr., and "An Evening with Gayarré," by Dr. Rudolph Matas.

* * * *

A tribute to Louis Knott Koontz is paid by John Walton Caughey in the November, 1951, *Pacific Historical Review.* Professor Koontz who died on August 6, 1951, had been for ten years the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* while active on the teaching staff at the University of California at Los Angeles.

* * * *

Harold M. Helfman has an interesting paper, "The Cincinnati 'Bible War,' " in the October, 1951, *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.* According to the author the turning point in the long story of the secularization of the public schools came in 1869 and 1870, when as an answer to the dispute about which Bible, Catholic or Protestant, should be read in the classrooms, the reading of the Bible was legislated out of the public schools of Ohio, and thus the pattern in Ohio became nation-wide.

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Gunboat Personnel on the Western Waters

The problem of furnishing naval personnel for the Western Waters during the first year of the Civil War was a knotty one—though no more difficult than the task of supplying seamen for the navy as a whole. President Lincoln in his proclamation of April 15, 1861, called for a militia of 75,000 men, but made no mention of personnel for the navy. Eighteen days later the President called into service 42,034 volunteers for a period of three years. In addition, the Regular Army of the United States was to be increased by 22,714 officers and enlisted men, thus emphasizing a difference between volunteers and those in the Regular Army. Lincoln then added: "And I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor more than three years, of 18,000 seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States."[1] The strength of the navy at the beginning of the war totaled 7,600 men, leaving no doubt in anyone's mind that an increase was both urgent and necessary.[2]

When Captain Andrew H. Foote was ordered on August 30, 1861, to assume command of the naval operations on the Western Waters, he found a force of three wooden vessels which had been armed as gunboats, and in addition nine ironclad gunboats and thir-

[1] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 serial vols., Washington, D. C., 1882-1901), Series 3, I, 67, 146. Referred to hereafter as *O. R.* A brief, but interesting discussion as to why Lincoln called the militia first, is found in Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General,* 2 vols., New York, 1949, I, 114–121.

[2] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion,* Series I, 27 vols., Washington, D. C., 1894–1917, XXII, 307. Referred to hereafter as *O. R. N.*

ty-eight mortar boats which were in the process of construction. The building program was at the beginning financed by the War Department, which was also to supply the necessary guns, projectiles, and ammunition.[3] The Western Flotilla, as it was called, was under the authority of the army, a factor which was to complicate such problems as rank, the payment of enlisted and commissioned personnel, and the recruiting of seamen.

It was not long before Foote learned, as he established his headquarters at St. Louis, that the naval officer preceding him had already experienced difficulty in obtaining men. Due to few enlistments, a rendezvous, or recruiting center at St. Louis had just been closed. A previous request to the Navy Department answered on August 23 stated that it was an impossibility for the Department to secure men for the Western Waters. The Navy also specified that the rendezvous on the lakes were for the purpose of filling the needs in the Atlantic cities, which meant that the Western Flotilla, therefore, would have to obtain its men from the West.[4]

Foote, now realizing what was facing him, took bold steps. Either in the ignorance or in disregard of the instruction dealing with the rendezvous on the Lakes, on September 11, he directed one of his officers to "proceed to Chicago and open a rendezvous and ship crews for the gunboats" being built on the Mississippi River. The lieutenant was also given authority to obtain men on Lake Erie. Cognizant of the effect of using colored personnel, Foote further informed his recruiting officer that "as there are objections or difficulties in the Southern country about colored people, we do not want any of that class shipped."[5] The captain was expecting to receive one thousand men from his recruiting agent at Cleveland alone, but his expectations were never fulfilled. A bonus of two dollars paid to the agent for each man who appeared to be in sound physical condition, plus government paid transportation for the recruits were not inducements enough to bring the desired results. The maximum amount of ten dollars to be advanced to each new enlisted man was not much in the way of a monetary consideration.[6]

Potential officer personnel did not respond any faster to the call of duty. Foote dispatched a naval officer to Cincinnati to secure pilots and other suitable personnel for service in the Flotilla.[7] Such

3 *Ibid.*, XXII, 299, 308, 314.
4 *Ibid.*, 296, 301, 304.
5 *Ibid.*, 331, 337.
6 *Ibid.*, 337.
7 *Ibid.*, 343.

was the difficulty in securing pilots, that on September 23, Commander W. D. Porter, the senior naval officer at St. Louis, suggested to Major-General John C. Frémont that "all licensed pilots be compelled, within a reasonable time, to report themselves at the office of the provost marshall."[8] Porter concluded that the pilots were "in fact, the officers of the government, and their refusal to serve is an act of treason."[9] Frémont's answer is not known, but his order issued to Foote to assume command of the gunboats, mortar boats, and steamboats, insofar as the supplying of officers, men, and equipment was concerned, was perhaps one way of avoiding the issue and shifting responsibility to the naval commander.[10]

One of the difficulties in the naval recruiting program was that it did not provide for naval volunteer units similar to those in the army. The latter facilitated the organizing of units within cities and states, thus making it possible for a local *esprit de corps* to exist—an important factor in recruiting at this time. Further, naval recruits were not credited to state quotas until the autumn of 1864, at which time enlistments in the naval or marine corps were to be acknowledged in the same manner as enlistments in the army.[11] This, of course, affected those who had quotas to fill. It was not a question of which service was in dire need of men, but rather which service could provide credit for local enlistments. Congressional action during these early years of the war was almost nil in relieving this situation. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, later complained that even naval personnel already on active duty, some abroad, and others on blockade service, were still subject to the draft. Three years after the war started, Welles was still running short of sailors and bemoaned the fact that he had "no immediate remedy."[12] Yet, his annual reports for 1861 and 1862

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[8] Foote, at this time, was at Paducah, making preparations to proceed up the Ohio River. Frémont was in command of the Western Department.

[9] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 350.

[10] *Ibid.*, 366.

[11] *O. R.* Series 3, V, 663, 664. Thus, in 1864, New York was credited with 28,427 naval enlistments; Massachusetts ranked second with 16,834, and Pennsylvania was third with almost half the number credited to the Bay State. This point is brought out in Fred A. Shannon's, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army 1861–1865*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1928, II, 297–298.

[12] *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols., New York, 1911, I, 407, 545–546, and Richard S. West, Jr., *Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Navy Department*, New York, 1943, 268–269, hereafter referred to as Welles, *Diary*, and West, *Gideon Welles*. On August 9, 1862, the "Regulations for the Enrolment and Draft of Three Hundred Thousand Militia" listed among its exemptions "all pilots, all marines actually employed in the sea service of any citizen or merchant within the United States, all engineers and pilots of

show little evidence that the navy was having a difficult time recruiting men for its vessels. Instead of pointing out these weaknesses to Congress, Welles boasted of how the navy had expanded and of the superior class of seamen who were manning the Western Flotilla. The Secretary did append some of Foote's letters to his report, but he made no mention of the constant appeal for more men found in much of this correspondence.[13] It appears that perhaps a naval officer of "Crommelin" calibre was necessary to bring the pressing problem to the fore-front, but circumstances were such that the war was more than half over before Congress, in spite of the apparent lack of proper recommendations by Welles, took action to improve the predicament in which the navy found itself.

By the end of October, 1861, Foote had obtained no more than one hundred recruits from the centers in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Chicago. As a consequence of their inability to supply the necessary number of men, all the rendezvous except those at Chicago and Pittsburgh were ordered closed the following month.[14] Foote, left with only two recruiting centers, appears not to have been bothered by the present idea of "chain of command", for he communicated directly with Welles, Gustavus V. Fox, the assistant secretary of the navy, and other officials in the higher levels of the armed services concerning his needs. For the gunboats, the first of which were to be ready as early as possible in November, he requested five hundred men. In regard to the mortar boats, he estimated that one thousand men would be necessary to man them. Fox had already been informed in September that the process of securing seamen was moving along very slowly, and that in the end, Foote would have to depend on the navy for supplying the Flotilla's needs.[15] A month later, the navy captain received word from Fox

registered or licensed steamboats and steamships. . . ." It also provided for the elimination "of all persons now in the military service of the United States," but no mention was made of the naval service, nor of those on active duty in the navy. *United States War Department General Orders 1862*, No. 99, Washington, 1863.

[13] *Senate Documents*, 37 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol., 3 (1861–62); and *Executive Documents*, 37 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol., 3 (1862–63).

[14] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 384, 393. Foote had received offers of small groups of men for gunboat service from Vermont and Indiana. These he accepted, but there appears to be no evidence as to whether or not he actually received them. See *Ibid.*, 353, 363, 367.

[15] *Ibid.*, 384, 373; Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright, eds., *Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus Vasa Fox*, 2 vols., New York, 1918–19, II, 5. Hereafter referred to as Fox, *Correspondence*. Foote, along with his requests for personnel, did not forget his own desires and in letters to Frémont, Fox, and Welles, pointed out how his rank as captain compared with that only of a colonel in the army, which at times made

that three hundred men were being drilled for use on the Western Waters. In addition, orders had been given to ship landsmen in New England. These were mostly fishermen without naval training. Foote was pleased to hear this and asked that they be sent "forthwith".[16] On November 15, Foote, newly appointed to the rank of flag-officer, was notified by wire that five hundred seamen would leave for Cairo, Illinois, the following day. Fox elaborated in a letter following the telegram, that the five hundred men were all that could be expected. Not only were no more to come but the assistant secretary of the navy added: "If you wish or can spare any officer, drop me a private note, for we are ashore of commanders."[17]

The flag-officer was not frightened that easily. He acknowledged the arrival of the five hundred men and said that he now had "only about 650 men for 8 boats, requiring 1700 men." He wanted about one thousand additional men and if about half of these could be obtained from the East, he would try to acquire the others from different sources. To Fox's inquiry about surplus officers, Foote wrote, "We have barely officers enough."[18] Foote's report of December 10 informed Welles that the flag-officer was "still deficient 1000 men for the flotilla." About a week later, Foote learned that the part of his report dealing with his being "still deficient 1000 men" had been turned over to the War Department, for Welles had written that he considered it "the duty of the Army to furnish the men," which to Foote was merely the old story of

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him subordinate to those displaying an eagle on their epaulets. He feared that the gunboats would be diverted from his command by even volunteer colonels of single regiments. "The only remedy for this," he told Frémont, "would be in the Navy Department appointing me flag-officer of the squadron or flotilla." *O. R. N.*, XXII, 388. To Fox, his approach was more pointed. "We suffer a good deal for my want of rank. . . . I want, for the efficiency of the fleet, the appointment of flag-officer." Foote added further, "am I not under the law entitled to the rank and to the appointment of a flag-officer? Now, when afloat, there is nothing to distinguish my vessel from the others. Hence I am embarrassed on all sides for want of rank"; *ibid.*, 391. His pleas to Welles followed the same line of approach; *ibid.*, 393–394; 399–400, and they did not go unheeded for on November 13, 1861, he received a morale-building order which stated that Captain Foote was "hereby appointed flag-officer in command of the U. S. naval forces employed on the Mississippi River and its tributaries." *Ibid.*, 429. A tardy acknowledgement of his new rank was sent to Welles on November 28, 1861; *ibid.*, 444.

[16] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 385, and Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 8.

[17] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 342, 435.

[18] Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 13. Foote also negotiated with Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, and a Colonel W. A. Howard, for one thousand men but nothing came of the matter. *O. R. N.*, XXII, 446, 447, 462. See also *O. R.*, Series 1, VIII, 397.

by-passing the issue.[19] The armchair strategists in the higher echelons of the army and navy finally reached a decision that month, which, they thought would solve the problem of supplying men for the Western Waters, but their plan of placing the Western Flotilla or the Western Gunboat Fleet as it was often called, under the jurisdiction of the army did not solve the problem.[20] Foote, unable to obtain sufficient naval personnel, now hoped to obtain soldiers to complete the necessary complement for his gunboats. He received word from navy headquarters on December 17, that Major-General George B. McClellan (who on November 1, 1861, had succeeded Major-General Winfield Scott as General in Chief of the Army) was planning to detail eleven hundred men for the western gunboats. Foote was also told that although many of the ships were going to sea without officers, he would receive two lieutenants and "possibly some commanders."[21] It appeared that the tenor of Foote's correspondence with Fox, placing emphasis on the need for men in Western Waters, was about to bring results.

On the very same day that Foote received word about the eleven hundred men, Major-General Henry W. Halleck, who had succeeded Frémont, as commander of the Department of Missouri on November 18 wrote from St. Louis that there were eleven hundred to twelve hundred unarmed volunteers available if Foote wanted them. His reply requested that five hundred of these men be sent immediately to the Flotilla.[22] Foote, apparently had not given any thought to any possible restrictions in this offer, but he learned that there was a string attached. Officers of the regiment of volunteers, Halleck wrote, would have to join the Flotilla with their soldiers and all were to be regarded as marines. They were not to be under the immediate command of any navy officer, but rather under that of the gunboat commanders.[23] The navy officer, who occasionally preached from the pulpit, restrained his natural bent toward

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[19] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 459, 464.

[20] The Western Gunboat Fleet was later transferred to the Navy Department on October 1, 1862. *United States War Department General Orders 1862*, No. 150 (Washington, 1863).

[21] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 463–464. Foote had wired McClellan on December 6, 1861, that twelve gunboats would be ready for service, if eleven hundred additional men were received. On the following day he also expressed a desire to receive soldiers from Halleck. *Ibid.*, 453, 455.

[22] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 465, 468. See also *O. R.*, Series 1, vol., VIII, 441. Halleck, who had been ordered to do so by McClellan, had already commanded the general at Benton Barracks, Missouri, to have these men in readiness for service down the river This order was issued on December 17, 1861.

[23] Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 18–19.

homiletics and instead plainly told the general that soldiers and not officers were wanted in place of seamen. There was no use for officers, he said; yet on the same day his request to the Navy Department for two more lieutenants was granted. Foote's message to Halleck went on to say that there were neither staterooms nor any other facilities provided for additional commissioned personnel. Men were needed to handle the guns and operate the boats. He had supposed that "volunteer soldiers would be discharged from the army . . . and be placed on the same footing with the crew."[24]

The bewhiskered naval officer did not drop the matter there; he expounded his feelings further to Fox. Foote, and perhaps rightly so, informed the assistant secretary that the general's idea of sending officers along with the enlisted men was impracticable. Foote did acknowledge Halleck's difficulties and mentioned that he found "no fault with him or his course," but what seemed to irk Foote was Halleck's questioning his judgment about navy matters. Fox was requested to send one thousand men from the East immediately, unless, Foote stated, "I am authorized to ship men who are discharged from the different regiments in the army for the purpose of entering the navy gunboats,"—a power which he had once received from Frémont.[25] On the last day of the year, one of Foote's subordinates wired him that even though Halleck's order on shipping officers with enlisted men was still in effect, Halleck would discharge any soldier who would ship for gunboat service. His concluding sentence: "Will explain further difficulties in the way when I see you."[26] indicated that all problems had not yet been settled.

The "further difficulties" soon became apparent. While the order permitted the soldiers to transfer, there still remained the necessity of obtaining the permission of commanding officers, and colonels and captains did not readily give their consent, for they did not relish the thought of losing members of their immediate commands. Brigadier-General Ulysses S. Grant, in command of the District of Cairo, later issued a proclamation emphasizing Halleck's

[24] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 474–476. Foote had also said that he made "no requisition for soldiers until ordered to do so by the Navy Department." This statement is to be questioned, for three weeks previously he had asked for army personnel. See above, note 23.

[25] *Ibid.*, 473. Welles, in his *Diary*, I, 120, some months later wrote that "Halleck, Foote insisted, was a military imbecile, though he might make a good clerk," which statement if possible to verify, would indicate that Foote's opinion of Halleck had dropped considerably in the following months.

[26] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 478.

order, but the obstacle of obtaining permission from commanding officers remained. Enlisted men were still refused consent, making the proclamation and order merely a paper acknowledgement of the navy's need for men.[27]

By mid-January, 1862, the efforts to recruit in the West resulted in the securing of less than two hundred men. Beside the personnel for the gunboats, there was an additional need for about eight hundred men for the mortar boats alone, but if Foote was having a hard time raising sailors for his gunboats, he was having more difficulty in outfitting his mortar boats with crews. Foote estimated that with all he soldiers flocking to him for gunboat service, he could have had six thousand to fill his empty ranks—except for the officers' failure to grant permission. Even if Foote had obtained these men, he would have had troubles: they insisted on gunboat duty only, and shunned the mortar boats, despite Foote's announcement that duty on the latter would be safer. The Flotilla commander's letters to Fox continued to plead for more men. Fox, on the other hand, made it known that the other components of the navy were no better off than those on the inland waters. He pointedly told Foote, that he could not expect to receive men from the navy as there were "several ships waiting for crews." Fox also strongly suggested that Halleck was showing little interest in the flag-officer's activities but emphasized that the general had been advised to obey orders about supplying Foote with men.[28] Had the assistant secretary been more aware of the difficulties facing Halleck in Missouri—conditions which alone should have had the undivided attention of the Department commander—the insinuations might have been avoided.

Grant, on good terms with Foote, in the meantime had realized the value of the gunboats in his campaign and attempted to help his naval associate. He wrote to St. Louis suggesting that the difficulties of securing men for gunboat service could be overcome by transferring a number of soldiers from the guard house to that duty. The future commander-in-chief of the Union forces also mentioned that he had conferred with Foote on the subject and believed that the proposal met with his approval. There is no doubt that Foote approved this idea, for in a telegram to Fox he spoke of Grant's writing to Halleck for authority to send some soldiers of "intem-

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[27] *Ibid.*, XXII, 527; Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 32.

[28] Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 30, 33, 37, and *O. R. N.*, XXII, 522, 464, 516. See also *O. R. N.*, XXII, 464, 516, 524, 530.

perate habits" to the Flotilla. What bothered Foote was the fact that no answer had been received. The desperate need for naval personnel was best expressed by Foote when he said: "The men I will take even if they are without brains, I only ask for muscle."[29]

Foote, in his endeavor to fill the needs of his command worked through two channels. His petitions were carried over to the War Department through Fox and Welles, where by chain of command Halleck was soon to hear about them. Through Grant, the pleas were again brought before Halleck, this time from the lower echelons. Foote's "pincer-movement" started to close in on Halleck, and on January 1, 1862, the commanding officer of the Department of the Missouri received a letter from the Headquarters of the Army. Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, the Adjutant-General, pointed out that the efficiency of the Western Flotilla had been much impaired by the want of crews. Efforts to supply this need failed, and it was now necessary to utilize other means to eliminate this deficiency. Thomas reminded Halleck that the Flotilla with its naval personnel was completely under the Department commander's orders, and that it was expected that Halleck would "devise the means of overcoming the obstacles that have presented themselves." Thomas then added that it would be more economical, and at the same time quite proper to use volunteer troops to supplement the naval personnel on the gunboats. As far as the difficulty which might arise from a surplus of officers, one remedy he suggested, would be to detail a portion of the excess officers to other duties. The Adjutant-General indicated that the matter was being placed in Halleck's hands, and after a "full interchange of views" with Foote, a solution to the difficulty would be found.[30]

About a week later, Grant, anticipating that some action would have to be taken by the army, issued a circular in which he called upon the commanding officers of companies and regiments to submit a list of "river and sea-faring men" in their commands, who would be willing to enter the gunboat service. He emphasized the need of personnel for such duty and contemplated transferring such men as desired it, "subject to the approval of the department commander." Grant's anticipation was confirmed on February 3, when Foote received a telegram from Halleck stating that Grant was authorized to detail men for temporary gunboat duty and that men

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[29] *O. R.*, Series 1, VII, 534, and Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 31. Also *O. R. N.*, XXII, 353. Grant also requested that authority be given to transfer unruly men to the gunboat service hereafter.

[30] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 504.

would be sent as soon as collected. Foote was also to arrange with Grant for temporary crews so as to avoid any delay.[31]

But temporary gunboat details did not satisfy Foote. On this same day he sent another letter of complaint to his superiors at Washington in which he pointed out that no more than fifty soldiers had been transferred to the Flotilla. There were many more volunteers, he said, but the resulting derangement of the military installations was the reason for such a limited number being transferred to the naval service. Not only were volunteers needed, but in view of the proposed campaigns to take place within the next ten days, it was imperative that the recruits be sent immediately in order that they could be trained and drilled for gunboat duty. On the following day the frustrated Flotilla commander received a telegram from Fox, which promised some six hundred soldiers—one-time seamen—from Massachusetts regiments. These were to be sent in groups of one hundred, without arms or officers, and were to start appearing for duty within a week.[32] Once again, the flag-officer realized that Fox was prone to exaggeration for it was not until after two weeks had passed that the first contingent of troops from the East was to make its appearance.

In the meantime, Foote had immediate problems which had to be solved. He requested information in regard to some of the disabled officers. Were they to be discharged? Were they entitled to a pension? In regard to the men's clothing destroyed under action he asked whether they would be entitled to any compensation for the same. While awaiting official instructions on these matters, the attack on Fort Henry had already become history, and Foote was now making preparations to cooperate with the army in an attack on Fort Donelson.[33]

The victory at Fort Donelson did not add to Foote's laurels, and it was with reluctance that he had taken part in the campaign. Lack of personnel to man his boats, and the necessity of transferring men from one vessel to another was a constant source of irritation within his command. So opposed were the men to the idea of serving on more than one vessel that, in one day, thirty ran away from a steamer in order to avoid transfer. The attention of Secre-

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[31] *O. R.*, Series 1, VIII, 505–506; VII, 565, 580; and *O. R. N.*, XXII, 504, 530. The shortage of personnel on the Western Waters was not a top secret, for the *New York Tribune*, on February 1, 1862, advertised the fact that Foote's Flotilla was still in need of a thousand sailors.

[32] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 531–532, 535.

[33] *Ibid.*, XXII, 578, 582.

tary of War Stanton was directed to this situation and on February 16, 1862, Foote received a telegram from the War Department informing him that six hundred men were to leave the next day for Cairo, Illinois, where they were to report to the senior naval officer.[34] When the first group of men arrived five days later, Foote must have pondered over his earlier statement about taking men even if they were "without brains", for he soon judged that with few exceptions, the men sent to him were the offscourings of the army. One of the basic causes of the dissatisfaction among these newly-arrived men was the fact that they had not been paid by the army to the date of their transfer. This condition was alleviated in the following month when the President issued instructions to the War Department to see to it that these men received their back pay. Foote found it necessary for the maintenance of discipline to disarm the men and to guard them with two companies of soldiers. In spite of these harrassing conditions, the Flotilla commander did manage to keep his equilibrium and wired Welles, "We want no more from the Army. I prefer to go into the action only half manned than to go with such men."[35]

Then, on the next day, February 25, Foote received a telegram from the Secretary of the Navy's office, which seemed to disregard the idea that the Western Flotilla had ever been short of personnel —and at the same time seems to cast some doubt as to the efficiency of Welles' office. The wire read: "Mr. Fox desires to know if you have sailors enough for the gunboats; if not, you shall have some thoroughly trained men." By this time, Flag-Officer Foote was prepared for almost anything and merely wired back: "We do want 250 well-drilled sailors very much, as we have no time to teach so many green hands. Please send the sailors." He also added a request for two good and sober gunners for his ammunition boats and although five ships on the coast were waiting for crews, sailors were leaving New York and the Great Lakes region for gunboat service.[36]

The problem of personnel for the gunboats on the Western Waters had finally disappeared and for the first time since he had assumed command of the Flotilla, Flag-Officer Andrew H. Foote was able to wire back in March, "We have now men in abundance

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[34] Charles B. Boynton, *History of the Navy During the Rebellion*, 2 vols., New York, 1869–1870, I, 525, 531. Also *O. R. N.*, XXII, 550, 579, 613.
[35] *O. R. N.*, XXII, 632, 642, 656, 657.
[36] *Ibid.*, XXII, 636, 638.

and want no more . . . ,"—this, in spite of the fact that his original requests were far from filled. Although the first year of the war evidenced inefficiency and uncooperativeness in the task of supplying the Western gunboats with naval personnel, Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, in his annual report for 1862, was able to write that as far as the gunboat activities of the army and navy for that year were concerned, "the organization worked harmoniously and effectively."[37]

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[37] Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 41; *O. R. N.*, XXII, 641, 648, 657, and *O. R.*, Series 3, II, 793.

A Jesuit at the Hell Gate Treaty of 1855

Early in July, 1855, hundreds upon hundreds of gaily bedecked Indian warriors from all the tribes of the great Flathead Confederacy rode over the plains and mountains of western Montana to a powwow with Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens of Washington Territory.[1] The rendezvous, according to a sketch by Gustavus Sohon who was there, lay along the flats of a wide, swift river swollen from recent summer rains. It was a bi-annual battleground of Blackfeet and mountain Indians, the passageway through the Rockies called the Gate of Hell. There under a clear sky and ringed by mountains, with the prim military tents of the Whites facing the humbler Indian tepees, the Flatheads, Kutenais, and Pend d'Oreilles fought a stubborn diplomatic battle for their ancestral lands. The stormy eight days at the riverbank are known to history as the Flathead Council.[2] The agreement there concluded, pregnant with fifty years of trouble to come, is called the Hell Gate Treaty of 1855.[3]

The aim of the meeting was clear. The way for the railroad to the Pacific had been surveyed two years previously. It lay through lands where the Indians claimed sovereignty. Governor Stevens had the harsh order from Washington to extinguish that sovereignty, to make the Confederacy surrender some 23,000 square miles of territory in Montana and Idaho for a reservation of 2,000 square miles. He had already made such an agreement with the tribes to the west

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[1] Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens By His Son,* 2 vols., New York, 1901, II, 89. Though published long after the event, this work is based upon eye-witness reports; the author himself, as a boy of thirteen, assisted his father at the Flathead Council which he recalls as "unexpectedly difficult and protracted." He includes in this volume a map from Governor Stevens' original and a sketch of the site by Sohon.

[2] The official proceedings of the council, recorded by James Doty, have been edited by Albert J. Partoll, "The Flathead Indian Treaty Council of 1855," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XXIX (1938), 283–314. The council formally opened July ninth and adjourned July sixteenth; Stevens was at the council grounds from July seventh to July eighteenth.

[3] Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties,* vol. II (treaties), Washington, D. C., 1904, 722–725; "Treaty with the Flatheads, etc., 1855," is the title given by Kappler to Senate Document, 58 Congress, 2 session, no. 319, ser. 4624. The treaty was ratified March 8, 1859, and proclaimed on April 18, 1859. An original manuscript copy is in the Jesuit Historical Archives for the Pacific Northwest and Alaska (this deposit is hereafter cited as OJH Arch.).

in the Columbia River basin and was on his way to make one with the Blackfeet.

Page after page of this protracted council was recorded to be embalmed in the White man's files at Washington. "Successfully and happily" the council had been terminated, "every man pleased and every man satisfied"; the grateful savage had welcomed a treaty "remarkably liberal in its terms to the Indians."[4] So wrote Governor Stevens. From the Indian side came no documents, only a heartache increasing to bitterness which, but for the Black Robe missionaries over that area, would have spelled disaster for America's troops in the spectacular Nez Perce War of 1877.[5]

Prior to this war, reports of the uneasiness had been transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and among them the Shanahan Report of 1873 remarked with some astonishment the Indians' lack of understanding and bitterness with respect to the Hell Gate Treaty.

> They made many complaints . . . and said they have been promised much but got little. They dwelt much on the eleventh article of the treaty which they seemed to think guaranteed them a right to the Bitter Root Valley. This I fully explained to them and besides explaining it through my own interpreter Rev. Father D'Aste did so in such an effectual manner that they were all convinced of its true meaning.[6]

The secret of all the Indian frustration is revealed in the unpublished letters of Father Hoecken, S.J., here adjoined. "Not a tenth" of the council "was actually understood by either party," due largely to incompetent interpreters. Not only were the words incompetently translated from Salish to English and from English to Salish, but the Salish mentality was completely missed. A particular element not grasped by the Whites was the limited extent of power accorded the political hierarchy of Flathead chiefs. To change the clan system with its individualistic chieftans and to defy ancient usages by placing arbitrarily all under one chief was to court trouble.

In these and many other points of Indian diplomatic history the historian of the Rock Mountain tribes has few records beyond

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[4] H. Stevens, II, 89, 90. Stevens repeats these sentiments in his 1855 *Narrative and Final Report of Explorations For a Route For a Pacific Railroad,* reprinted in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad. . . ,* Washington, D. C., 1860, XII, book I, 209. This collection of 1860 is hereafter cited as *Railroad Reports.*

[5] R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "The Jesuits, the Northern Indians, and the Nez Perce War of 1877," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XLII (1951), 40–76.

[6] MS: Shanahan Report, OHJ Arch.

the Indian camp-talk and garbled tradition, and he is forced to seek his facts on the Indian viewpoint largely from alien fonts. One source however may be exploited as directly Indian: the diaries, letters, writings, and to some extent even the reminiscences of the trained Jesuit missioners who lived and ate, talked and prayed for many decades, so close to their dark-skinned flock as to be almost Indians themselves. Men they were of foreign lands and continental study halls, with an ear long practiced in the nuances of each tribal tongue. It was the privilege of this writer as Assistant Archivist for three years in the Jesuit Historical Archives for the Pacific Northwest and Alaska to handle the great quantities of unexploited manuscript material composed by these early missioners. Research on one problem gave occasion for investigation of the cognate problem of the Hell Gate Treaty. What, from the Indian standpoint, actually transpired at the pow-wow? What fundamental issues were at stake and why were they so misconceived?

The basic answer lies deep within the faded, cloth-bound covers of a tiny diary and catch-all. Elegantly inscribed on its title page with the name of the Jesuit priest Hoecken,[7] it is filled with jottings made in a wilderness mission station almost a century ago. Three and a half inches wide and almost six inches long the notebook contains some two hundred and fifty-six unnumbered pages, protected by a heavy-duty cover of flowered, blue-purple design. Its white, ruled pages harbor every sort of notanda helter-skelter, beginning from both ends or entered at random. These entries are in pencil and in ink, of varying degrees of illegibility. English, French, Dutch, Indian dialects, and Latin are employed to express a many-sided personality in which charming candor and shrewd business-sense are evident. The entries include diary notes, historical memoranda, copies of important letters, financial transactions, memory jogs, lingual advances, rough plans of the mission site, and general records both spiritual and temporal. Taken as a whole they bring into sharp focus a picture of life on the Montana frontier long, long before the avalanche of white pioneers had settled there. Thus we read that "200 balls and powder" have been "exchanged for wheat"; that certain Whites have borrowed four oxen or a trowel; that the Nez Perces, Kalispels, and Piegans are sending raiding parties after Gros Ventres horses—and that there has been homi-

[7] Adrian Hoecken (sometimes Hoeken) is not to be confused with his noted brother and fellow Jesuit missioner, Christian, who had died of cholera in the summer of 1851. On Christian see *Dictionary of American Biography,* New York, 1943, IX, 106–107.

cidal retaliation.[8] Meticulously the diarist records the calving of cows, with the pertinent bovine names. Under date of "1855, Dec. 14," he preserves "Votes for a Couton[ay] chief": three pages of Indian Names each with its votee inscribed at its side (Baptiste won by a clear majority), There is a swap: "1 yoke of oxen and 1 wagon for three horses." Other representative excerpts include:

3 frying pans[:] 2 doll[ars] la [*sic*] piece
Calico 90 cents a yard
1 Dollars [*sic*] for scythe
17 and 18 noctem intra Crows furant[?] equos ad fort Benton; insequitur eos Little Dog, occidunt unum, triumphant—nocte inter 19 et 20——— [illegible word] vedet manum Gros Ventres.[9]

Our immediate concern, however, is with a hastily scribbled copy of important correspondence: two letters written in a small, cramped hand, neat but distressingly semi-legible. The first begins on the twenty-fourth page of the booklet, the second on the forty-ninth page from the rear; both are written in French with a sprinkling of Latin tags.

Of more than passing moment to the researcher, of course, is the personality behind these documents. Upon it will hinge the extent of credibility and objectivity in the facts recorded. Adrian Hoecken was born at Tilburg, North Brabant, in mid-March of 1815: two days before Napoleon entered Paris to begin his triumphant Hundred Days march to Waterloo. Twenty-four years later at the diocesan seminary of Bois-le-Duc young Hoecken was ordained deacon and by December of that same year was tossing over the broad Atlantic toward America, there to enter the Jesuit novitiate near Florissant, Missouri. At the frontier boom-town of St. Louis he was ordained priest in 1842 and, as part of the famous Emigration of '43,[10] was bidden Godspeed to the fabulous-

[8] "1 Nov[embri] 1862 [:] Nez Perces, Kel[ispel,] et Pikani furant equos Gros Ventres." And "Hi [Gros Ventres] iterum ad 80 Pik [anorum;] occidunt duos Pikani furantes iterum [,] et occidunt quinque Gros Ventres. . . . 3 februario [,] mediante manu Gros Ventr[es,] occidit mulierem Nez Perces uxorem albi. . ."

[9] Little Dog payed a friendly visit in 1856: "Ap[rilis] 1. Arrived here Little dog cum filio et 3—[illegible word] et feminis Pieds noirs[.]"

[10] Whitman mentioned the "Two papal priests and their lay helpers [Hoecken's novice-master Peter DeVos, Brothers Magean and two others for Kansas]." Peter H. Burnett speaks of the two priests, calling Hoecken "DeSmet"! George Wilkes pays tribute to these "pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith. . . We treated them with every observance of respect and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft." Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 vols., New York, 1938, II, 291. On their discovery of a valuable cut-off for the 1843 emigrants see Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, San Francisco, 1886, I, 398.

ly remote "Oregon" wilderness. The next fifteen years of grinding but gratifying toil on the Rocky Mountain Missions of the Society of Jesus were spent among the Flathead Confederacy.[11] He was co-founder in 1854 of the new St. Ignatius Mission among them, and of the abortive Blackfoot mission on the Sun River near Fort Shaw. By 1861 broken health had occasioned his recall to civilization where he was to gain fresh fame as a pioneer apostle of the American Negro in St. Anne's parish, Cincinnati. As late as 1891 we find this indefatigable pastor, his Negro parish now a memory, an active worker at St. Gall's Church, Milwaukee. But his strenuous spirit was wearing away the human machinery; on Easter Monday of 1897, at Marquette College, now Marquette University, Milwaukee, the octogenarian closed his eyes upon a world vastly different from that he had entered.

On the fruits of this toil among the Flatheads Governor Stevens had commented, in an official report of 1855 to President Pierce: "It would be difficult to find a more beautiful example of successful missionary labors." Doctor George Suckley, who as army surgeon attached to Stevens' 1853 expedition met Hoecken, offers an insight into the missioner's personality:

> I walked up to the door of the mission house, knocked and entered. I was met by the reverend Superior of the Mission, Father Hoecken, who in a truly benevolent and pleasing manner said: "walk in, you are welcome; we are glad to see the face of a white man." . . He bade me welcome, had our things brought up from the boat, an excellent dinner prepared for us and a nice room to sleep in and treated us with the cordiality and kindness of a Christian and a gentleman.[12]

The great Pierre DeSmet, S.J., founder of the Rocky Mountain Missions, speaks of Hoecken in a letter of 1856 as "one of my earliest travelling companions to the Flatheads. He has ever labored and still continues to labor here with the greatest zeal and the most

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[11] Detailed account in Garraghan, II, 305–313. To Bancroft he seemed "nearly as indefatigable as DeSmet"; *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, San Francisco, 1890, 604 n.

[12] The opinions of both Stevens and Suckley are given in Garraghan, II, 309. Father Hoecken so strictly avoided speaking or writing about himself that a personal glimpse like this is precious. From others who knew him we find that he had a keen eye for natural beauty; that he had so identified himself with the Indians as to retain throughout his long life in the east some of their mannerisms and expressions; that for one period of six years he met no fellow White except a lay-brother nor heard any news from the civilized world. See the obituary sketch of his life and character by Walter H. Hill, S.J., in the Jesuit domestic periodical *Woodstock Letters*, XXVI (1897), 364–368.

plentiful results."[13] Nicholas Congiato, S. J., superior of the Missions in 1855, reports after his mission-survey of that year: "Like his venerable brother, who died on the Missouri in 1851, Father Hoe[c]ken does the work of several men."[14] The Indians, Doctor Suckley informs us, "look up to the Father, and love him. They say that if the Father should go away, they would die." He is their "kind missionary and friend, the much loved. . ."[15]

A record of his character-defects would afford a more rounded picture of the man. The "potato incident" of local fame,[16] climaxing his failure among the Coeur d'Alenes, would seem to indicate some brusque tactlessness or imprudence. Even if we so conclude from the meagre evidence at hand, we are forced to concede a candor and lack of malice in the man. This appears throughout the diary; to some extent we see it in the document here published. A diary entry from another page of our manuscript booklet throws light on the author, recording a personality clash between the two zealous and intellectually critical continentals in charge of the Flathead apostolate:

> Un fall out [*sic*] at breakfast Against me by R[everend] P[ère, *vel* Pater] Menet[rey] for the horse given to the chief. My prodigality makes others suffer. I am not master of the property [,] etc [.,] etc [.]

Hoecken's work is admirably summed in Gilbert J. Garraghan's monumental *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*:

> This sturdy Hollander . . . was taking his first steps [1844] in what was to be a long and distinguished missionary career. He came of a family which had the distinction of giving seven of its members to the service of the Church. His brother, Christian, like himself a Jesuit of the vice-province of Missouri was at the moment resident missionary among the Kansas Potawatomi . . . Adrian Hoecken's years in the mountains were almost entirely spent with the Kalispel. He was the Kalispel missionary *par excellence*. He shaped the destinies of the first St. Ignatius as superior all the years it was maintained, and moved with the Indians to the second and greater St. Ignatius in western Montana, of which he may be reckoned the founder.[17]

Adrian Hoecken formed part of a small international community

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[13] Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801–1873* . . . , 4 vols., New York, 1905, IV, 1228.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1277.

[15] House Executive Document, 33 Congress, 1 session, no. 129, p. 278.

[16] William Bischoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon, a Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest, 1840–1940,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1945, 43.

[17] Garraghan, II, 305. See also Chittenden-Richardson, II, 444 n. and *passim* for details; Bischoff, 224 for chronological sketch.

at Mission St. Ignatius, two priests and four lay-brothers all from different nations: the Swiss Joseph Menetrey, the Dutch Hoecken, the Irish Peter McGean, the Belgian Francis Huysbrecht, the German Joseph Specht, and the Italian Vincentio Magri. Their mission formed part of a spreading Jesuit network of stations collectively titled the Rocky Mountain Missions and centered largely on a parallelogram of what is today upper eastern Washington, northern Idaho and western Montana.

St. Ignatius itself had been moved that very winter (1854–1855) from a ten-year established but unpromising site near modern Cusick, Washington, to a spot one hundred and ninety miles northeast, near Flathead lake, in modern western Montana. In 1855 it was a relatively imposing cluster of farm buildings, residences, and church. A sketch of its prairie site—mountains looming on the near horizon and tepees dotting the tall grass in clannish huddles—has been preserved for us in the archives of the Jesuit province of Missouri. The quaint little figures who would people this sketch were as international in character as the Jesuit community which served its church; Hoecken enumerates Blackfeet, Spokanes, Kettles or Chaudieres, Coeur D'Alenes, Creoles, even Creeks and Iroquois!

More precisely the mission was a spiritual center for the far-flung Flathead Confederacy, a military alliance against the buffalo-monopolizing Blackfeet. They were in all two thousand savages of four major tribes: the Flatheads proper, under the great Head Chief Victor (senior chief of the confederacy as well), the Kutenais under Head Chief Michael, the Pend d'Oreilles under Head Chief Alexander, and the lower Pend d'Oreilles (or Kalispel, though this name is often used of either Pend d'Oreille group); these, not participating in the treaty, were under another Head Chief Victor (Alimaken).[18] Most were, with dialect-differences, children of the

[18] "These tribes are by the Treaty eonsolidated into one Nation, with Victor the chief of the Flatheads, as Head Chief of the nation," wrote Stevens to Commissioner Manypenny on the last day of the council; Partoll, 312. But the alliance in actual fact was a loose one; cf. the speech of Red Wolf, (*ibid.*, 290–291), of Michael (*ibid.*, 299), and of Alexander (*ibid.*, 303). Congiato says of Hoecken at this very time: "He has succeeded in uniting three nations and a part of the Flatheads to live together under his spiritual direction"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1277. The Flatheads proper had been drastically reduced in numbers during the few years preceding this council. The nation of Alexander had been formed from various wandering groups at a relatively recent time. Both Pend d'Oreille groups, Dr. Suckley wrote, "are brave in battle, and are said to be feared and avoided by the Blackfeet"; *Railroad Reports*, vol. I, part 2, 298. Victor was the greatest chief in Flathead history; when he died in 1870 the noted Lieutenant Mullan promised to have the government raise a monument to his memory. Alexander Temglagketzin, or Ca-nacht-ketchim

great Salishan family which totals some eighteen or nineteen thousand American and Canadian Indians. Properly the Flathead tribe itself belonged to the now abandoned St. Mary's some twenty-eight miles up the Bitter Root Valley and some fifty miles below St. Ignatius. The two Pend d'Oreille mission stations, St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia, had just become the new Ignatius Mission.[19]

To this new site in Flathead Valley, with its "pleasing variety of woodland and prairie, lake and river—the whole crowned in the distance by the white summit of the mountains," over one thousand Indians had gone to make their permanent home by Easter of 1855.[20] During the next few months construction went on apace, fields were plowed and sowed, plans were evolved to secure goods from St. Louis via the American Fur Company and Fort Benton. A major event this summer was to be the visit of Right Reverend Magloire Blanchet, Bishop of Nesqually, who would conduct colorful Confirmation ceremonies. True, there were storm clouds gathering on the horizon: furtive Indian runners slipping from tribe to tribe as an ocean-wave of unrest swept from the Pacific coast to the Great Plains; white men preparing to stream north into Chaudiere and Spokane land as the greatest gold strike since '49 drew Californians to Washington territory; and distressing rumors that Whites would possess the earth.[21] But the superior, Father

(man-without-a-horse), thin faced and somber visaged, was an "old friend" and travelling companion of De Smet's early apostolate. (Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1232). There is an 1859 photo of him in Garraghan, III, 78. Michael or Michel (incorrectly named Michelle throughout the Partoll report) "recalls in the midst of his tribe the life and virtues of the ancient patriarchs," De Smet wrote in 1861 (Chittenden-Richardson, III, 964); he is not to be confused with the great Flathead warrior, Chief Michael Insula.

19 There is a contemporary sketch of St. Mary's in Lawrence B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest, a History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891*, 2nd edition, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, 96; another view in Garraghan II, 312. Founded in 1841 it was "temporarily" closed (1848–1866) and finally abandoned (1891). A contemporary drawing of new St. Ignatius is given in Garraghan, II, 312. On the Pend d'Oreilles see Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin*, 2 vols., XXX (1907), II, 646–647; on the Kutenais or Kútonâqa, "a distinct linguistic stock in two dialects, Upper Kutenai and Flatbow," see *ibid.*, 740–742. The four nations at the Flathead Council numbered collectively about 2000 Indians (cp. H. Stevens, II, 503, Partoll, 312, and the comparative estimates from 1806 to 1853 in *Railroad Reports* vol. I, part 2, 417–418).

20 Chittenden-Richardson, II, 1232–1233.

21 Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 108, tells us that this discovery of gold at Colville in the spring of 1855 made it difficult for Governor Stevens to restrain his escort from deserting. Colville became "the Elderado [*sic*] of the North" where miners made "from 5 to 15 Dollars Per Day all winter" of 1855–56, MS: James Barron to W. H. Wallace, April 7, 1856, in MSS: Wm. H. Wallace Indian War Papers, no. 16, University of Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington.

Congiato, off for the Santa Clara Valley in California after a three month visitation of the missions, left St. Ignatius behind with the happy thought that all was "going on well," an estimate he probably confirmed when, on leaving it, he passed Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens coming on to fashion a treaty of peace and progress with the Confederacy.[22]

Father Hoecken, left alone with the four coadjutor brothers, was busily keeping within bounds a small cholera plague, and at the same time was preparing to send an Indian guard of honor some two hundred miles west to meet the Bishop, "when our plans were broken up by a message from Governor Stevens, summoning all our Indians to a council to be held some thirty miles off, in St. Mary's or Bitter Root Valley, at a place called Hellgate. . . "[23]

Stevens, completing his "Treaty Tour," was getting farther and farther out into a wilderness which was soon to explode behind him with appalling fury into "an expensive and disastrous war—from the effects of which the territories will suffer for many a year."[24] Starting with the Puget Sound tribes and working inland toward the Blackfeet domain on the Great Plains, Stevens had followed the Joel Palmer plan "to concentrate the Indians on a few reservations and pay for their lands with useful goods and instruct them in farming."[25] Five thousand Indians had just put their seal to the great Walla Walla treaty and had then withdrawn to prepare their summary vengeance.

This was the prelude to the Flathead Treaty and to the immediately subsequent Blackfoot-Flathead-Nez Perce treaty. It was the prelude to bloody war with the Whites (from which the Flathead confederates abstained), to a welcome peace with the Blackfeet, and

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[22] Chittenden-Richardson, II, 1237; and Stevens, II, 75. Menetrey was probably one of the two companions with Congiato when the party met Stevens on July third, eighty-six miles from the mission.

[23] Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1234.

[24] House Executive Document, 35 Congress, 1 session, no. 38, 2.

[25] R. M. Gatke, "Stevens' Indian Treaties (1854–59)," in J. T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, New York, 1940, V. 181–182. See also George W. Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2nd edition, New York, 1938, chaps. XII–XIV; Stevens, with maps and illustrations. The House Exec. Doc. (p. 10) reproduces a letter from Father Pandosy to Father Mesplie at the Dalles telling of war talk which had been the chief topic of discussion since the Walla Walla council, as the Indians plan to unite and fight for their lands. Both Pandosy and Major Alvord, who transmitted this information, were censured as alarmists! Father Joset calls the Walla Walla agreement "a mock treaty, in order to gain time and prepare for war"; R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "Père Joset's Account of the Indian War of 1858," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1947), 285–314. At this time the regulars in Oregon and Washington "numbered only 335 men"; Fuller, 220.

to a most unwelcome land-grab by the United States government. Ahead lay the long, bitter decades to the Garfield treaty of 1872, then the short, bitter years to the Flathead decline. Through all this, and through the tension of the 1877 Nez Perce War, the Flatheads must often have meditated upon the sentiments expressed by Chief Big Canoe that bright summer noon of July 10, 1855, at Hell Gate:

> It is our land. . . If you make a farm, I would not go there and pull up your crops. I would not drive you away from it. If I were to go to your country and say, "Give me a little piece," I wonder would you say, "Here, take it." . . I am very poor. This is all the small piece I have got. I am not going to let it go.[26]

On Sunday, June 24, 1855, Stevens had reached Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. After a conference with the chiefs on Tuesday, he left "the most cordial and hospitable" Jesuits.[27]. A summer storm delayed him for two days in his next camp, where a Flathead arrived to say that "all were looking forward to the council."[28] On Friday he forded the Coeur d'Alene River at sixteen different places, and paused to exchange a few words with Father Congiato, S.J., and his companions who were returning from the Bitter Root Valley. That Sunday a Coeur d'Alene Indian, who had been dispatched some days previously to the Bitter Root Valley, returned with a message from Special Agent Adams: "everything is quiet in the Indian country" and the Flathead tribes are ready to assemble.[29] The whole of July fourth, the day Hoecken started for Hell Gate, Stevens spent floundering one hundred and fifty yards across the swollen Bitter Root; a nearby Flathead group, unencumbered with a pack train, did it in an hour! While Hoecken waited impatiently at Hell Gate the next day, Stevens delayed almost until noon before he broke camp and journeyed eighteen miles up the right bank of the river. A Flathead brought a note from Adams "saying that the Indians were patiently waiting for my arrival."[30] Stevens sent assurances to Adams that he would be there

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[26] Stevens, II, 90; cf. the Partoll version, 291–295. The Pend d'Oreille Big Canoe (1799–1882) was noted as a staunch friend of the Whites.

[27] I. I. Stevens' *Narrative* of 1855, *Railroad Reports*, vol. XII, book I, 201.

[28] *Ibid.*, 202.

[29] *Ibid.*, 203. Thomas Adams, a Stevens aide and artist on the 1853 explorations, was Special Indian Agent for the Flatheads from 1854; see H. Stevens, I, 306, II, 75, 92; Bancroft, *History of Montana*, 102 n. Stevens had promised the Flatheads a council and treaty two years before, during an informal council at St. Mary's in the Bitter Root Valley, September 30 and October 1, 1853.

[30] Stevens, *Narrative* of 1855, 207.

next day, but the agent apparently neglected to tell Hoecken. Early on the seventh, when the Jesuit was already back at the mission, Stevens met the Indian vanguard and soon established camp for his small band of twenty-one.

The official record of what followed transmits the Indian thought only crudely at best, often garbling it to the point of unintelligibility. With Hoecken's remarks to guide us as to the intent of certain speeches, however, we may draw from these notes of the proceedings the official picture of the council.

The afternoon of his arrival the governor was host to the three head chiefs at an informal conference. After the usual prolonged puffing of tobacco, to signify mutual friendship, Stevens outlined his plan for a reservation and formally invited the chiefs to the council; he solemnly promised that the proposed treaty with the Blackfeet would keep that tribe "out of this valley, and if that will not do it we will then have soldiers who will."[31] Chief Victor announced that twelve of his peaceful hunters had been killed by raiding Blackfeet recently, and many horses stolen. "I would have had my revenge ere this," he said, had it not been for fear of White soldiers.[32]

At one-thirty on Monday afternoon, July ninth, Stevens and six assistants met the assembled braves in formal council. The governor regretted that Victor of the lower Pend d'Oreilles would not attend the council; he wished all four nations to act as one nation, selling to the Great Father in Washington all their lands except a tract large enough for their cattle and farms. In return the Whites offered a hospital with resident physician, and for twenty years a farmer, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a saw mill, a grist mill, and a school. Each Indian was to receive "a large amount" of "everything to start your farms"—with more of each necessary item yearly for twenty years.[33] Their tribal law was to be respected. The Black Robes were mentioned, not without implied criticism. Stevens mistrusted their influence, as the event was to prove.

We look with favor on the missionaries that come amongst the Indians where they desire them and I think their coming may do them good. The

31 Partoll, 285.

32 *Ibid.*, 286.

33 *Ibid.*, 288. Most of these things had already been made available to these tribes by the Jesuits. Thus Suckley reports at the old St. Ignatius Mission in 1853: pigs, poultry, cattle, agricultural implements, tools, a windmill, blacksmith shop and carpenter shop (served by lay-brothers), barns, cow-sheds, houses, a one hundred and sixty acre mission farm, Indian houses; he also tells how this community makes its own ploughshares, tobacco-pipes, bricks, candles, etc. Garraghan, II, 310.

priest will be your friend, but he will *not* have control whatever over your affairs. The priest will advise you in your spiritual affairs—that which relates to God, but he will have no control over your temporal affairs, your own laws; that you will manage yourself.[34]

Victor replied that he had confidence in Stevens' good intentions, but that he could not give the Whites a large piece of land since he had very little. Alexander touched briefly on hell, God, man's final purpose, and his people's undisciplined character; perhaps fear of the Whites would supply what the priestly exhortations lacked. "The priest instructs me and these people here," Alexander concluded; "I am very well content with the priest and am very well satisfied with you."[35] The Flathead Red Wolf then protested that all this talk of one nation, where before there had been three, was confusing.

The following afternoon Chief Big Canoe delivered one of the longest and most poignant speeches of the council.[36] He could not understand the need for a treaty since there had been no war; his people had never spilt a drop of White blood. At great cost to his tribe he has humored the Whites by calling back war parties who wished revenge against the Blackfeet. "I am quiet and sit down on my land," he protested; "I thought nobody would talk about land, would trouble me." For his part, he would never go to the White man's country and impose on them this way. This is his country; he grew up here; he is poor and wants to keep his land. He wishes the Whites to go away to their own country. The White men talk "so smoothly, so well"; they "just talk as they please" to the poor Indian.

But Stevens seemed determined to have his own way. He summarized Big Canoe's speech, framing it to his purposes and concluding that the chief favored the reservation scheme! Big Canoe protested: "I do not understand you right"; but Stevens turned now to the head chiefs.[37] None was opposed to the general idea of a reservation, though Victor made it clear he would not leave his Bitter Root Valley. Stevens emphasized the alternatives: Flathead Valley or Bitter Root Valley. He spoke flatteringly of each chief's prowess, painted a dark picture of the difficulties involved in

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[34] Partoll, 288.
[35] *Ibid.*, 290.
[36] *Ibid.*, 291–295. On Big Canoe, see above, n. 26. Red Wolf, or Isaac, was a Kutenai whose mother was a Flathead.
[37] Partoll, 296.

supplying two reservations, and promised each chief a furnished home and five hundred dollars a year for twenty years.

> You will have your priest with you, whether you go to the mission or Fort Owen; and here I would say those who want the priest can have him. The Great Father means that each one shall do as he pleases in reference to receiving the instructions of the priests. . . .[38]

At the Wednesday afternoon session, since Victor still clung to his valley, Stevens exerted every effort to persuade Alexander to join Victor in the Bitter Root. But Alexander held fast to his own land: the priest was there, the berries and roots were there, it was the only place large enough. Chief Michael's non-committal silence was interpreted by the governor as indifference: "he will stand by whatever" the other two chiefs decide.[39] During an informal recess Alexander agreed to accept Stevens' favored spot, the Bitter Root Valley, if the importunate governor "would say he could not go to heaven at his own place."[40] Stevens ignored the irony and urged the chiefs to dwell in common on earth as they would in heaven! Clearly, an impasse had been reached. With singular lack of common sense Stevens ascribed this result of his efforts to the adverse influence of the Jesuits. "It being obvious that no progress would be made by continuing the council today, and that an influence was being exerted by the mission which might be adverse to the views of the government," he adjourned the council until Friday and sent again for Father Hoecken.[41]

Hoecken appears no more in the official transcript, but Stevens will write to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the last day of the council: "I carefully explained the whole matter to Father

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[38] *Ibid.*, 297.

[39] *Ibid.*, 300. Throughout the council Stevens spoke too sharply, too self-confidently, to the chiefs. As the Jesuits could have informed him, the Flatheads and Kalispels, unlike the Kettles or Coeur d'Alenes, had "to be treated with gentleness so that one gains nothing by being brusque." Garraghan, II, 385.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.* This was a surprising attitude, considering both the religious tolerance of the New Englander Stevens and his many enthusiastic reports of Catholic mission-work. The key to this paradox would seem to be his annoyed conviction that "so great has been their desire for peace that they have overlooked all right, propriety. . . And the Indians seeing that the missionaries are on their side, are fortified in the belief that they are fighting in a holy cause. . ."; Stevens II, 228–229. The governor was apparently unaware of the outbreak of cholera which detained Hoecken—a disease which had carried off Hoecken's brother just four years previously, and which the Indians regarded with awe as an "implacable scourge"; Chittenden-Richardson, II, 650; "thousands" of Plains Indians fell in the Cholera Year of 1853; *ibid.*, IV, 1283.

Hoecken, the Jesuit Missionary, whose presence I had required at the Treaty Ground, and whose influence over these Indians is almost unbounded."[42] Stevens' change of heart after his talk with Hoecken is evident in his further statement to the Commissioner:

> Father Hoecken has labored faithfully among the Indian Tribes for the last ten years, and has gained his influence by energy, devotion and the natural ascendancy of a patient and indomitable will. He has promised to interpose no obstacle whatever to the views of the government, and I have confidence in his singleness of purpose.[43]

Hoecken's absence had undoubtedly annoyed Stevens as much as Stevens' absence had annoyed Hoecken on July fifth. Stevens was to labor under the illusion that the discreet Hoecken now "highly approved the treaty,"[44] an impression belied by the tone of the Jesuit's writings. In common with the Indians, however, he did highly approve the element of peace with the Blackfeet.

Tempers flared during the Friday session. Alexander complained that the governor had concealed the small size of the proposed reservation: "when you first talked, you talked good; now you talk sharp; you talk like a Blackfoot."[45] Stevens taxed Alexander with contradicting himself; he emphasized the temporary right of pasture on the land sold. Suddenly Victor interjected: "Where is my country: I want to speak."[46] Stevens tried to silence him, then tactlessly brushed him aside: Alexander had agreed, and he was now speaking with Alexander. But Alexander snapped: "I was talking to you and I told you no."[47] Stevens therefore ignored him and turned now to Victor! Much more was said before the session adjourned but no progress was made beyond this point. Once Stevens openly, though by indirection, insulted Victor.[48]

A final session on Monday, July sixteenth, settled nothing. Neither Alexander nor Michael would hear of moving. Victor protested the loss of his lands, and made an ambiguous offer. Let the Great Father come from Washington and see for himself whether

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42 *Ibid.*, 313.
43 *Ibid.*, 314
44 Stevens, II, 85, 90. Of course, he was under the same impression as to the Indians' reactions at the end (see above, n. 4).
45 Partoll, 303.
46 *Ibid.*, 304.
47 *Ibid.*
48 "Or is Victor a chief? Is he as one of his people has called him, an old woman? dumb as a dog? If Victor is a chief let him speak now." Partoll, 304. Ambrose, Tilcoostay, Red Wolf, and Beartrack each gives his view of the question. But it is difficult to judge the degree of accuracy the official record achieves in transcribing these speeches.

they could live on the proposed sites. He would stand by the personal decision of the president. Both Stevens and Hoecken understood Victor to have made a compromise offer. But the Flatheads themselves subsequently remained thoroughly convinced that this very proposal of Victor's had guaranteed to them the Bitter Root Valley.[49] Stevens therefore had made a treaty hinging entirely on an ambiguous compromise which, moreover, had been explicitly rejected by the other chiefs. He falsely assumed that the confederation was a single nation, and that all would submit to the presidential choice. In cold fact, he does not even seem to have intended any further investigation; that same year he confided to Father Ravalli, S.J., that the reserve was to be in the Flathead Valley. [50]

Stevens hastily accepted Victor's conditions, and each of the three chiefs put his X to the revised document. Father Hoecken signed as a witness.[51] Before the gifts were distributed and the council formally closed, the powerful Flathead sub-chief, Moses or Stiettiedloodshoo, contributed this bitter and significant speech:

My brother is buried there. I did not think you would take the only piece of ground I had. Here are three fellows (the chiefs), they say get on your horse and go. . . . If you would give us a large place I would not talk foolish. If I go in your country and say give me this, will you give it me. May be you do know it . . . they have only one piece of ground. . . Last year when you were talking about the Blackfeet you were joking.[52]

[49] Palladino, 95, and sources cited in Burns, "Jesuits, Northern Indians, and Nez Perce War," 45 n.

[50] See the second of the two letters here appended. Stevens could actually write to Commissioner Manypenny on July 16, 1855, that the difficulties experienced in the Flathead Council had been many "in consequence of the dislike of the Flatheads to mission establishments"! The Jesuits could have enlightened the governor as to the obvious source of his difficulties; they had previously made efforts to have the Pend d'Oreilles move to the Coeur d'Alene Valley or to the Camas and Horse Plains, only to receive the answer: "This is our country; here are the graves of our forefathers; here we were born, and here we wish to die; we do not want to leave our country poor as it is." *Railroad Reports*, vol. XII, book I, 298.

[51] In the manuscript original (OJH Arch.) "A. J. Hoecken, S.J., Miss[ionarius]" appears sixth below Governor Stevens. But it is nowhere to be found in President Buchanan's ratified copy (manuscript, OJH Arch.).

[52] Partoll, 310. Moses was the baptismal name given to Stiettiedloodshoo by Father De Smet who was his "adopted Indian brother." He was a powerful Flathead sub-chief whose surname meant "Bravest-of-the-Brave." De Smet tells us he was "distinguished by his superior skill in horsemanship," and "the handsomest Indian warrior of my acquaintance." Chittenden-Richardson, I, 305, II, 472, 576, 766, IV, 1225, 1240. According to the official version of his speech, Moses understood the transaction in the same sense as Stevens wished, and rejected it; however, even Stevens realized that Michael and Alexander had not agreed to move (Partoll, 313), and so this element of the speech may be badly recorded.

The Jesuits aided Stevens more than once during his Treaty Tour, but the real Jesuit contribution to this Flathead treaty was to come after Stevens had departed. Having "bought" the vast Indian holdings, the United States government did not pay for them. The money, the tools, the school and hospital, the blacksmith—all the grand promises came to nothing. The all-important presidential survey was forgotten until 1872, by which time White settlement had already reached the Bitter Root Valley.[53] Nevertheless the government had the effrontery to request the struggling Jesuits themselves to make the payment![54] They did so, but it was simply a continuation of the splendid work they had been doing for fifteen years. Nine months after the Flathead Council, Father Hoecken wrote to Father De Smet in St. Louis:

> Here in our missions, we already observe all the conditions stipulated in the treaty concluded last year by Governor Stevens, at Hellgate. Our brothers assist the Indians, and teach them how to cultivate the ground. They distribute the fields and the seeds for sowing and planting, as well as the plows and other agricultural instruments. Our blacksmith works for them: he repairs their guns, their axes, their knives; the carpenter renders them great assistance in constructing their houses . . . our little mill is daily in use for grinding their grain . . . in a word, all we have and all we are is sacrificed to the welfare of the Indian. The savings that our religious economy enables us to make . . . is theirs! Through love of Jesus Christ we are ready to sacrifice all, even life itself.[55]

And in the same letter, Hoecken proposes a reservation idea, much more magnanimous than the government's, which he feels could be effected:

> Were I authorized to suggest a plan, I would propose to have all the upper lands evacuated by the whites, and form of it a territory exclusively of Indians; afterward I would lead there all the Indians of the inferior portion [lower country], such as the Nez Percés, the Cayuses, the Yakimas, the Coeur d'Alènes and the Spokans. Well-known facts lead me to believe

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[53] In a letter written less than a year after the treaty Hoecken mentions "the Whites, the number of whom is daily augmenting in St. Mary's valley"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1240; by 1877 there would be 450 Whites in the Bitter Root Valley. Steven's initial error was compounded by the disgraceful Garfield Treaty of 1872: the name of the Flathead head chief was simply forged to the instrument which was sent to the Senate for approval; when the head chief still stood firm, the government set up its own puppet regime and enforced the treaty as best it could. In 1883 an investigating Senate Subcommittee exposed the fraud.

[54] Palladino, 96.

[55] Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1245–1246. The agricultural implements etc. distributed did not come from the government, but were supplied by the Jesuits; the government gave not "a farthing"; *ibid.*

that this plan, with such superior advantages, might be effected, by means of missions, in the space of two or three years.[56]

Hoecken adds:

When, oh when! shall the oppressed Indian find a poor corner of earth on which he may lead a peaceful life, serving and loving his God in tranquillity, and preserving the ashes of his ancestors without fear of beholding them profaned and trampled beneath the feet of an unjust usurper?[57]

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Documents

I

Au Rév[érend] P[ère] Joset, Août 1, 1855.[58]

Voici qu'un occasion s'offre pour vous écrire.

J'ai reçu votre bonne lettre, merci pour les avis; voici les offices . . . .

Gov Stevens, depuis la gamache Coeurs d'Alène, avait écrit à Adams, qu'il espérait de voir à la porte d'Enfer les Pères et Frères d'ici: le 4 Juillet je suis allé avec le F[rère] Magean, le 5 je [MS: XXVI] l'ai attendu toute la journée; le 6 je suis reparti: quelques jours aprés je reçois un billet d'Adams, que Gov Stevens désirait me voir: plusieurs petits enfants étaient en agonie ou bien malades; j'ai différé de jour en jour; voilà qu'un ordre formel arrive de me rendre au Conceil [*sic*]. Je suis allé, il m'a bien reçu, quoique on

[56] *Ibid.*, 1240–1241. This plan was not only more just and generous, but it avoided Stevens' difficulty of moving those tribes most attached to their land; the Kalispels were already being persuaded to come to the new St. Ignatius.

[57] *Ibid.* During the war which broke out in 1855 and again in 1858, the missioners worked actively to restrain their flocks.

[58] In editing the appended manuscripts I have retained the vagaries and inconsistencies of the hasty original, with a minimum of *sics*, supplying some accents and basic punctuation. Capitalization, in general somewhat erratic, spelling, paragraphing, insofar as the intent of the original could be ascertained, all are Hoecken's own. Pagination (my own) has been indicated in brackets [MS: 1]. Omissions are duty noted and unbracketed topic headings introduced. Colloquial freedom has been sought in translating; for the spirit or full context of a phrase the letter has occasionally been sacrificed.

pouvait voir et entendre facilement qu'il n'est pas ami des catholiques. Quelle comédie et tragédie dans tout ce concil[e], trop longue pour l'écrire: bien; pas 1/10 a été compris; car Ben Kyser parle la langue tête platte très mal, et rend les choses en Anglais [MS: XXVII] aussi très mal. Un traité a été fait, dira t'on [?]. Les Sauvages diront en riant, qu'on leur a parlé à tors et à travers de fair[e] la paix (chemtueg [(hemtuêq) or (ihemtueg)?] term employé par Ben; ils disaient [: "] à quoi bon faire la paix; a t'il jamais eu de guerre avec des blancs ["]; tous montraient leur mains pas souilliées. Mais in fine finale le Gouv[erneur] voulaient [voulait] les têtes plattes, Pends d'oreilles, Coutonays, Calispels dans un endroit; mais où, vous en rirez, en haut dans la vallée tête platte, un 15 de milles plus haut [?] que l'ancienne Mission. Adams proposait cette place comme bonne au Gouv[erneur] et aux Sauvages, et Pierre Iroq[uois], il disait, de ne pas le croire, que notre place était la meilleure. [MS: XXVIII]

Victor tête platte tenait pour son pays, Alexander [et] Michel sont[?] pour ici.

Un jour une tragédie dans la comédie, Victor étant appellé une vielle femme, un chien par le Gouv[erneur], du moins par son interprête, laisse la place et retourne dans sa loge. Alex[andre] appelle le Gouv[erneur] un homme à doubles bouches, un pied noir. Quelle conclusion. Victor veut avoir les deux places examinées par le Gouv[ernement] et il donne son choix en conséq[uence]. Si notre place est jugée la meilleure, il viendra. Alexandre et Michel ont refusé net, d'aller ailleurs. Comme cela ils ont signé. Qu'auront t'ils [?], qui le sait, de plus: le Gouv[erneur] a demandé si Alex[andre] aimerait d'avoir un moulin, un moulin à scie, un [MS: XXIX] fermier, un forgeron, un maître d'école, à chaque demande réponse non, pensant qu'ils ont dejà tous [tout] cela.

Je n'ai en aucune chose dans tout cela, jamais la religion y a été nommée de part et d'autre: cependant avant de partir le Gouv[erneur] me dit. ["] Père, votre influence est grande, c'est pour vous que les Sauv[ages] tiennent à leur térres ["]. Il avait dejà dit cela à Alex[andre:"] vous aimez les Pères; pour cela vous ne voulaient [*in loco* voulez?] pas céder ["]. Réponse [:"] j'aime mes terres; je n'aime pas les Pères, autrefois les Pères à S[aint] Marie je restais sur mes terres ["]. Plura coram; car je crois d'après le plan du P[ère] Men[etrey] des [de?] descendre à S[aint] Paul pour y faire ma retraite, si nihil grave obstet; [MS: XXX] après quelques jours le monde s'en iront à la chasse au [en?]

traité de paix: alors il y restera ici peu de monde jusque l'automne

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A propos le Gouv[erneur] veut les Coeurs d' alène ici ou [un?] avec les Chaudières chez les [MS: XXXI] Yakamas [*sic*], Catholiques avec Catholiques. Les Spokan[e]s protestants (comme il dit) avec les Nez percés protestants.

En cas que V[otre] R[évérence] n'approuve pas ce plan, envoyez la réponse chez les C[oeurs] d'al[ène]. De là alors je retournerais avec les objets qui doivent y être d'en bas.

[unsigned]

II

1856 Jan[vier] 10

Mon Rév[érend] et Cher Père Superieur

Une des plus grandes privations que je souf[f]re ici, est d'être exilé ici à une si grande distance d'un Père Superieur; dont j'aurais le doux besoin presque journellement. Pour satisfaire à votre demande et pour savoir ce que nous avons à faire, et à même temps pour ma consolation, je commence cette lettre; quand pourrait je la faire parvenir à son adres[se], Deus scit. Quelques jours après votre départ d'ici M[onsieur] Adams, qui était quasi l'Agent pour ces Sauvages, est venu ici pour nous inviter tous au concile, au traité entre le Gouv[erneur] Stevens et les Pends d'oreilles [*sic*], Coutonays, Têtes plattes, qui devait se faire le 4 juillet. Je suis parti avec F[rère] Magean. Le Gouv[erneur] n'y était pas, le 5 nous attendons avec impatience, et le 6 nous retournons, car le temps était trop précieux pour nous. Le 10 Adams envoya un billet que le Gouv[erneur] désire de me voir: 5 ou 6 petits enfants étaient dangereusement malades d'une espèce de choléra. Je tiens deux nuits un cheval attaché pour aller voir le Gouv[erneur] si les Enfants [MS: II] allaient [?] mieux. Voilà le [que?] je reçois une lettre du Gouv[erneur] que je vous donne ici; j'y vais le lendemain; il me reçoit extérieurement très poliment; mais je ne vois pas pourquoi il m'a appelé; car je n'ai rien à faire avec le traité. Aucun des sauvages voulait entendre de *vendre* leurs terres: à la fin Gouv[erneur] Stevens leur proposa[?] deux réserves, l'une depuis la fourche de lolo jusqu'à quelques miles plus haut que l'ancienne mission de S[ainte] Marie, l'autre depuis ici jusqu'au lac supérieur au nord d'ici. L'affaire était presque finie, le réserve leur aurait été donnée; quoique tous les Pends [MS: III] d'oreilles

et Coutonays refusaient. Peut-être la Gouv[erneur] voulait que j'aurais pris sa part, mais cela aurait été contre ma conscience, convaincu que cette place ne convenait pas ni aux têtes plattes et et [*sic*] certainement pas aux Calispels. Bone Deus, c'en était fait de la mission S[aint] Ignace.

A la fin l'insignifiant Victor, qui pridie fuerat dictus femina, canis, dicitur dux principalis nationum unitarum, propose d'avoir les deux réserves examiné[es] par le Président, et il promet de suivre le jugement du Président dans ce choix. Alexandre chef Pends d'oreille[s] et Michel chef Coutonays, refusent nettement de prendre d'autre réserve que celle-ci sur leur terres, même si le Président disait [?] que l'autre réserve soit meilleure. Le Gouv[erneur] leur dit un jour: ["] c'est parceque vous avez des Pères que vous tenez à votre place ["]. Alex[andre] lui dit [:"] non, je n'aime pas les Pères (mendacium officiosum) mais j'aime mes terres["]. Le traité a été conclu avec cette double réserve à faire examiner [?] par le Président, quoique le Gouv[erneur] a desuite cédé [?] au Pére Ravalli, que la Mission S[aint] Ignace était dans la réserve. [MS: IV] Avant de partir le Gouv[erneur] me dit encore: ["] Père c'est parce que les sauvage[s] vous aiment, votre influence est grande, pour cela, ils ne veulent pas venir sur cette réserve tête platte["].

De retour ici on a commencé desuite à élever la grange dans le bas-fond derrière l'église provisoire. P[ère] Menetrey est revenu, chargé des ordinationes conclues après la consulte. Deo gratias, je tâche de m'y conformer; si j'y avais [?] été présent j'aurais proposé des choses, qui auraient déplu à d'autres; ils auraient dis [dit?] que je semblais [?] avoir plus ici sans raisons, ils auraient plaider [plaidé?] [MS: V] leur besoins: transeat. Dieu a soin même des petits oiseaux. Le 16 d'a[o]ût je suis parti d'ici pour aller à Colvil[l]e pour y faire la grande retraite, si necessaire pour moi.

. . . . . .

Je crains le voisinage des Blancs pour nos Néophytes. O si le Gouv[erneur] avait la confiance dans notre Comp[agnie] et voudrait ces moyens; on remplirait tous les artic[les] du traité consciencieusement.

Les frères vous saluent; comme aussi M[onsieur] Croke. Mes respects aux RR. [Révérends] Nobili, Devos, Mengarini, et aliis quamvis ignotis personaliter.

A[DRIAN] HOECKEN,
s[ocietatis] j[esu]

Translations

I

To Reverend Father Joset, August 1, 1855.

At last—I find a chance to write to you![59]

I received your welcome letter; thanks for the advice. Here are the new assignments.[60] . . . . .

Summons to the Council

After the Coeur d'Alenes' root-digging season,[61] Governor Stevens had written Mr. Adams that he hoped to see our Fathers and Coadjutor Brothers at Hell Gate.[62] On July the fourth I set out with Brother Magean;[63] all day of the fifth I waited for Stevens; on the sixth I started home again. Several days later I got a note from Adams to the effect that Governor Stevens wished to see me.[64] Since quite a few of our youngsters were dying or extremely ill I delayed departure from day to day. And then I received a formal command

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59 Then at St. Paul's Mission among the Chaudieres, Kettle Falls, Washington. John Joseph Augustine Joset, S.J., (1810–1890), a native of Courfaivre, Switzerland, and former professor at the College of Fribourg, had been superior general of the Rocky Mountain region, 1845–1850. See R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "A Jesuit in the War Against the Northern Indians," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LXI (1950), 9–54.

60 I here omit less important domestic details: a list of household duties assigned each Jesuit (given also in Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1242), a notice that cholera had carried off some ten Indians recently.

61 Lit. "after the Camas." This is not the "variété de pomme" of Larousse, (*Grand dictionnaire universal*, VIII: 977), but *Camassia Esculenta* (cf. Nootka *chamas* or "sweet"), a hyacinth-related bulb used by many Pacific Northwest tribes as a staple food; Hodge, I, 196; missionary writings *passim* in OJHA Arch.)

62 Elliot Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, 4 vols., New York, 1893, III, 1071 n., incorrectly says that Hell Gate was so named by De Smet; Chittenden and Richardson, II, 582, mal-translate it from a De Smet letter into "Devil's Gate." Hell Gate was the principal entrance of the marauding parties of the Blackfeet through the Rockies. The council grounds was some six miles west of "the deep, dark portal" of Hell Gate which is itself just east of modern Missoula, and therefore in what Bancroft calls Hellgate Valley; *History of Montana*, 590–591, 626; Palladino, 359; Stevens, II, 77–78, 92–93; Garraghan, II, 264–65, 348. Its exact location is noted on the adaptation of Stevens' map; Stevens, II, 16. Throughout Hoecken's text it is often difficult to determine whether his abbreviation of Governor is "gouv.," "govr.," or even "govt."

63 Peter (?) McGean or Magean, S.J., (1813–1877) of Westmeath, Ireland, one of Hoecken's companions on the 1843 journey to the missions, was the humorous and hard-working farm manager. Hoecken was probably the only priest at St. Ignatius when Stevens' message came; see above, n. 22.

64 "Reçois" in the text is obscure, possibly due to misspelling or attempted correction.

to appear at the council! I went; Stevens received me kindly, though it was evident (and easily appreciated) that he does not overly favor Catholics.[65]

Lingual difficulty. Treaty terms.

What a ridiculous tragi-comedy the whole council proved. It would take too long to write it all down—ah, well! Not a tenth of it was actually understood by either party, for Ben Kyser speaks Flathead very badly and is no better at translating into English.[66] A treaty has been made—or so they will say. The Indians would recount with some glee how they were spoken to at illogical cross-purposes to make a peace (*chemtueg,* as Ben put it). They ask: "What is the sense of making peace? Have we ever been at war with the Whites?" They all show their hands unstained by blood. The upshot of the whole matter, however, was that the governor wanted the Flatheads, the Pend d'Oreilles, the Kutenais, and the Kalispels in one place. Where, you ask? Absurdly enough, farther up the Flathead valley,[67] some fifteen miles above the abandoned St. Mary's Mission. Adams recommended this place both to the governor and to the Indians. Iroquois Peter warned them not to believe Adams; that our spot was better.[68]

Chiefs refuse terms, sign conditionally

Chief Victor was for the land his tribe now holds. Chiefs Alexander and Michael favor the St. Ignatius area.

One day tragedy interrupts the comedy. Victor being called

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65 But see above, n. 41.

66 Benjamin Kiser (sometimes Keiser) was a half-breed Shawnee who, with Sohon, served as interpreter at both the Flathead and Blackfoot Councils. Later he was a trader and rancher in western Montana. Stevens, II, 92, 115, 117; Partoll, 287n.

67 The Bitter Root Valley; Hoecken either errs in the name, though not in the description, or else simply wishes to designate that valley which is the home of Victor's Flatheads. Cp. Partoll, 300, where Stevens says: "not having agreed I say both go above Ft. Owen; that is the best place."

68 But in the open council Peter was non-committal; Partoll, 297. Peter is Pierre Gauché or Gaucher or Left-Handed Peter, a "venerable old man" who would die within the next year or two years; cf. De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries. . . ,* New York, 1859, 316. He had been one of the twelve (D'Aste MS in OJH Arch.) or twenty-four, according to Bishop Rosati, (in Palladino, 29) Iroquois employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who had settled among the Flatheads. After twenty-three years with this tribe Peter accompanied Young Ignace on the third of the many Flathead attempts to secure a priest; both deputees spoke French, and received the sacrament of Confirmation at the old Cathedral of St. Louis; on this, and subsequent controversies see the fine summation of Garraghan, II, 236 ff. "Pierre Baptiste, the old Iroquois" is mentioned by Lieutenant Mullan; House Exec. Doc., 33rd Cong., 312, and by Doctor Suckley; *ibid.,* 278.

an old woman and a dog by the governor, or at least by his interpreter, leaves the council and retires to his tent. Chief Alexander calls the governor two-faced and a treacherous Blackfoot.[69] What an ending!

Victor wants the government to pass judgment on both sites, and he will then choose accordingly. If our place is judged better he will come here. Alexander and Michael have refused point-blank to go elsewhere. On that understanding, the Indians have signed the treaty.[70] Will they get something more? Who knows? The governor asked Alexander if he would like a flour-mill, a saw-mill, a farmer, a blacksmith, a school teacher? To each question he answered no, considering that they already possessed all these.[71]

Stevens suspects Hoecken

I had nothing to do with all this; never was religion spoken of by either side.[72] However, the governor before leaving told me: "Father, your influence with the Indians is very strong. It is on account of you that the savages cling to their lands." He had already said the same to Chief Alexander: "You love your priests; that is why you won't give in." Alexander retorted: "I love my lands. I do not love the Fathers.[73] Years ago when the priests were at St. Mary's, I lived on my own lands."

Blackfoot treaty; conclusion

But more of this later, for I intend to follow Father Menetrey's suggestion and go down to St. Paul's Mission, there to make my Re-

[69] Partoll, 308, mentions Victor's departure but misses its significance. On the incident as reported in Partoll, see above, n. 48.

[70] I have filled out the abbreviation "gouv." here to mean not governor but government (i.e. federal): cf. parallel passage in Letter II. "The Indians," writes Hoecken to De Smet two years later, "appear . . . very reluctant to part with their lands; they will scarcely hear of the depositions to be taken"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1240. The next sentence of French text is somewhat obscure in the manuscript; I have reconstructed it as best I could.

[71] The Partoll transcript does not include this. The refusal may not have been understood, or not recorded, or perhaps it was only part of Friday's angry interchange.

[72] Hoecken must mean that he took no part in the discussions, since he did sign as witness. Religion was indeed spoken of by both sides, but Hoecken may refer either to the treaty itself or, more probably, to the deliberate segregation here by Stevens of moral, religious, and socio-religious affairs from the Indians' public affairs. Hoecken seems to say, therefore, that his cooperation was negative; the Indians made up their own minds, and he stood in the way of neither party.

[73] See below, n. 81. This is not in Partoll's text, but perhaps we may place it in the Wednesday session after Alexander and Stevens had reached their impasse, and before Hoecken was sent for. In this session Alexander had mentioned the mission establishment ("the priest") as one reason for clinging to his valley. He would probably then have had to deny to the suspicious Stevens any influence by Hoecken on his decision.

treat, unless some serious obstacle arises.[74] In a few days everyone will have gone off on their annual buffalo hunt in accordance with the peace treaty.[75] Only a few will be left here until autumn.

. . . . . .

By the way; the governor wants the Coeur d'Alenes here, or else with the Chaudieres on a reservation among the Yakimas—Catholics with Catholics. The Protestant (as he conceives it) Spokanes he wishes to be with the Protestant Nez Perces.[76]

Should your reverence not approve of this project, send your reply through the Coeur d'Alene Mission. From there, then, I shall be returning with goods which must have arrived there from the country below.[77]

[unsigned]

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[74] Père Joseph Menetrey (1812–1891) was superintendent of material needs under the mission superior Hoecken; on his life and work see Palladino, 179–180, and Bischoff, 277, a complete chronological sketch of his career. The "retreat" here referred to is probably the famed *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola. "S[aint] Paul, ou Colville, ou les Chaudières" appears on Joset's 1849 sketch-map in the Jesuit Central Archives at Rome as thirteen days' journey northwest of old St. Mary's, six days from the Coeur d'Alene mission, and two days above the "old St. Ignatius"; Garraghan, II, 312–313.

[75] On the Blackfoot treaty and Hoecken's role therein, see below n. 84. A total of 16,000 Indians were party to this agreement, misrepresented by Bancroft (*History of Montana*, 102) as a Nez Perce-Blackfoot affair. Details are in Stevens, II, 32–33. With the next sentence of our document I omit the major part of a page—details of the contemplated St. Paul's trip (he will pass the Coeur d'Alene mission and return at the beginning of October).

[76] For the Coeur d'Alenes, an important Salish people centering on Lake Coeur d'Alene in modern north Idaho, see Hodge II, 594. The Chaudières or Shuyelpi (Skoyelpy) are a Salish group between Kettle Falls and the Spokane river; *ibid.*, I, 326–327. The Yakimas, a Shahaptian nation, would be leaders in the 1855 war; *ibid.*, II, 983–984 on location and history. The Shahaptian Nez Perces (*ibid.*, II, 65–67) were Protestant or pagan with a handful of notable exceptions until Cataldo's evangelizing in the sixties; the Salish Spokanes (*ibid.*, II, 625), several different tribes along the Spokane River, would be Protestant in the main for some time to come, despite Hoecken's qualifying "comme il dit"; MS: TS, H. T. Cowley reminiscences, University of Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington. In 1849, however, Hoecken wrote to the Jesuit General at Rome that in desires the Spokanes were divided, some wanting Catholic missioners, others Protestant; Garraghan, II, 340 and n. Stevens wrote in his report on the 1853 explorations: "Nearly all the Indians east of the Cascades are sincere Christians, mostly Catholics; but the Spokanes and a part of the Nez Perces are Protestants." *Railroad Reports*, vol. I, part 2, 147. "The only missions now among the eastern tribes are those of the Jesuits and Oblat[e]s"; *ibid.*, 422. In the French text, if the "ou" be "un" a variant translation must of course be supplied.

[77] From Fort Vancouver, or the Hudson's Bay Post Walla Walla, soon after destroyed by war. Goods could also be gotten at the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Colville, or from far-away Fort Benton on the Missouri. Coeur d'Alene Mission (the old site, near modern Cataldo, Idaho) was six days' semi-desert hardship from Fort Walla Walla, and seven added days

II

January 10, 1856

Reverend and Dear Father Superior.[78]

One of the greatest privations I sustain here, is to be exiled so terribly far from a Father Superior. Of his kind support I feel almost continual need.

In answer to your request, and to discover what you wish us to do (and at the same time for my own spiritual solace) I begin this letter. When I shall be able to have it effectively delivered, God alone knows.[79]

Summons to the Council

Several days after you left us, Mr. Adams who is a sort of agent for these Indians came here to invite us all to a council at which, on July the fourth, a treaty was to be drawn up between Governor Stevens and the Pend d'Oreilles, Kutenais, and Flatheads. I set out with Brother Magean. The governor was not there. Annoyed, we waited for him over the fifth of July and on the sixth went back home, for time was too precious to waste.

On the tenth Adams sent a note saying that the governor desires to see me. Five or six children, however, were dangerously ill of some kind of cholera. I kept a horse in readiness for two nights to go to see the governor should the children improve. But then I received a letter (which I enclose) from the governor. I went to him on the morrow. He received me, outwardly at least, with all kindness. But I do not understand why he summoned me; the treaty was none of my affair.

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from Fort Vancouver. The antecedent for the French "plan" in our preceding sentence may be the reservation for the Catholic Indians, but probably is the projected trip and retreat.

[78] Nicholas Congiato (1816–1897) was a Sardinian Jesuit of exceptional administrative talent. Fleeing Italy during the 1848 troubles he completed his sacerdotal studies at Bardstown, Kentucky, where he became rector of St. Joseph's College. From 1854 to 1858 he was superior general of the California and Rocky Mountain missions, and after 1858 of the latter mission alone for three years. He is noted for his peace services in the 1858 Coeur d'Alene war, and as the founder of the Jesuit house of studies at Los Gatos, California. At the time of this letter he had just completed a three-month visitation of the mission, leaving St. Ignatius as Stevens approached.

[79] The letter would be sent to the Santa Clara valley in California. Six years earlier Joset had complained to the Jesuit General at Rome that: "From Superiors . . . we hardly get an answer in eighteen months. Even with resident members of the Mission, correspondence is very slow." Even between St. Mary's and St. Ignatius delivery of letters was had only "three or four times a year." Garraghan, II, 359.

Hoecken and the double-reserve plan

None of the Indians would hear of *selling* their lands. Finally Governor Stevens suggested two reservations, one extending from Lolo fork to a spot some miles above our abandoned St. Mary's Mission, the other running from here on up to the lake higher in the north. The business was all but over; the reserve would have been given them, even though the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenais rejected it. Perhaps the governor hoped I would side with him, but that would have been against my conscience, convinced as I was that the designated area was unsuitable for the Flatheads and especially for the Kalispels. Dear God! It would have meant the end of Mission St. Ignatius!

Victor's solution

Finally, the "insignificant" Victor, who had been mocked as a woman and a dog the day before (and who is called the head chief of the Flathead Confederacy) moved that the two reserves be examined by the President of the United States;[80] and he promised to follow the president's judgment in making his own choice. Alexander, chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, and Michael, chief of the Kutenais, absolutely refused to accept any reserve other than that proposed on their own lands, even should the president decide that the other was better. One day the governor told them: "It is because you have priests that you cling to your land." Alexander answered him: "No, I do not love the priests (a *mendacium officiosum*)[81] but I do love my lands." The treaty was concluded upon that condition: the two reservations were to be investigated by the president. However, the governor has since conceded to Father Ravalli[82] that St. Ignatius Mission is on the reservation. Before

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[80] Franklin Pierce, fourteenth president. This passage (in Latin) offers some difficulty to a translator; an example of asyndeton, confused further by use of the historical present, it is susceptible of another interpretation: "Then the 'unimportant' Victor (who was called a woman and a dog only yesterday *but is* now conceded by Stevens to be master of the confederacy), mollified, proposes that the two reserves be examined . . ." Cf. Partoll, above, n. 48.

[81] L. for "officious lie." In moral theology lies may be classified as malicious, jocose, or officious. The last is one "of necessary or excuse . . . told for one's own or another's advantage"; in itself and prescinding from qualifying circumstances its guilt is considered rather venial than grave.

[82] A significant admission by Stevens, nullifying from the start article XI of the treaty. Anthony Ravalli, S.J., (1812–1884) was an Italian priest then among the Coeur d'Alenes. Of artistic, medical, and mechanical talents, he is remembered as a pioneer doctor, builder of the famed "church built without nails" for the Coeur d'Alenes, and peace maker in the 1855 war. Ravalli County in Montana is named for him. Ravalli Papers in OJH Arch.; Bischoff, 230–231.

leaving, the governor told me again: "Father, it is only because the Indians are attached to you, and because your influence over them is strong, that they do not want to come onto the Flathead reservation."

Domestic affairs; conclusion

On my return here we began to put up a barn on the flat behind the temporary church. Father Menetrey is back with the decrees agreed upon during the consultation. Thanks be to God, I try to comply with them. Had I been at the consultation, I would have suggested things which others would not have liked; they would have said that I seemed to have here, without reason, more than they; and they would have called attention to their own needs. Ah, well! Let us forget it![83] God watches over even the tiny birds. On August sixteenth I left here for Colville to make the Long Retreat which I need so much[84] .....

.....

I fear the proximity of the White settlers,[85] for our neo-Christians. Oh, if the governor only had confidence in our Society and

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[83] Latin; lit. "let it pass by."

[84] I have here omitted, as having no direct bearing on the Flathead treaty some domestic affairs and a very valuable discussion of Hoecken's part in the Blackfoot treaty. It fills some 25 pages of our little diary with minute and closely-written script. Beginning with a request from Stevens for Jesuit assistance at the "consile et traité de Pied noir," it tells how Hoecken follows Joset's counsel, setting out first for St. Ignatius and thence, on October third, with Father Croke and two savages, for the vague general destination assigned. A fatiguing and difficult journey ensued, with a shock at their entrance into prairie country as they met a large band of braves who turned out to be friendly Kutenais coming back from a successful hunt. Then over a "belle" prairie, across the mountains, and "nous voilà dans le pays Pied noir," where Hoecken received a musket-salvo salute from "Alexandre cum suis . . . Deo Gratias." Important details of the council are here given; other notes on the 1855 councils may be gathered *huc illuc* elsewhere in the diary. Registering approval of the government encouragement "a la culture des terres" Hoecken began the difficult return trip. In this passage Hoecken also mentions a large group of Mormons near St. Mary's Mission. We also have a journal of Hoecken's eight day trip (from Coeur d'Alene Mission?) beginning August 16, 1855. There is a letter in Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1276–77, from Hoecken to De Smet from the council grounds. A Hoecken letter of 1857, *ibid.*, 1248, indicates that all is not well at least on the tomahawk front: five Spokanes killed by Bannocks, six of the latter killed by Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, one Flathead killed by Bannocks and one by Gros Ventres; the Blackfeet are more amiable, but the Spokanes and Nez Perces are trying to stir up trouble.

[85] Besides the Hudson's Bay Company settlers (some Indians, Canadians, and miners) at distant Colville, there were "a few Americans, settled a few miles from here"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1247. A U. S. Fort Colville, established in the sixties, replaced the Colville here mentioned which was abandoned after 1871. On the Whites who subsequently did move in, see the list of Bancroft, 626–627.

wanted the proper means. Then the terms of the treaty could be carried out dutifully.[86]

The Coadjutor Brothers send their greetings, as does Mr. Croke. Give my regards to Fathers Nobili, Devos, Mengarini, and to any I may not know personally.[87]

ADRIAN HOECKEN, S.J.

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[86] "Society" in the MS text, is the French "compagnie [de Jésus]," latinized "Societas"; the French retains the original military flavor. Hoecken writes to De Smet early in 1857: "Here in our missions, we already observe all the conditions stipulated in the treaty concluded last year by Governor Stevens, at Hellgate. Our brothers assist the Indians. . . Last year we opened our school, but circumstances forced us to close it. Next spring . . . we intend opening a second time." Despite lack of subsidies, the Jesuits continued at government request to supply gratis at least a shadow of substance to the grandiose treaty promises of assistance. Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1245–46; Bischoff, 73; Palladino, 96.

[87] The Reverend James Croke, travelling companion with Hoecken to the Blackfoot council, was in 1855 "a travelling missionary of the Diocese of Oregon" who later became vicar-general of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. John Nobili, S.J., was founder and first president of Santa Clara College (now University) in California, whither he had been sent with Father Accolti during the gold-rush of 1849. Five previous years of Indian missionary labor in the Rocky Mountain Mission had not improved his ill-health and he died, a noted public figure, in 1856. Peter De Vos, S.J., (1797–1859) had been Hoecken's novice-master in Missouri, his companion over the Plains in 1843, and his fellow missioner on the Rocky Mountain Mission. His more distinguished converts included Doctor J. E. Long, secretary of the provisional government of Oregon, and Peter H. Burnett, first chief-justice of Oregon and first governor of California. Gregory Mengarini, S.J., (1811–1866) a Rocky Mountain missioner from 1841 to 1852, was at this time in California, where he later served as treasurer of Santa Clara College for thirty years.

Belmont's History of Canada

Introduction

To fulfill the promise made in the introduction to "Belmont's History of Brandy," published in translation in the January number of MID-AMERICA, the following pages are devoted to the translation of "Histoire du Canada, par M. l'Abbé de Belmont." The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which originally published these two manuscripts of Belmont, has graciously consented to the translations. It seems that sufficient data on the author, his work, and the French publication of 1840 in the *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations sur l'Histoire Ancienne du Canada,* has been given in the preceding introduction.

The editing poses several problems. The historical account covering the period from 1608 to 1664 runs for twelve pages. There is then a gap in the story from 1665 to 1680 when the Iroquois War is described in detail. Throughout dates appear in the printed line and in the margins. These marginal dates it seems advisable to drop, except where they are not given in the line. Where they do not appear in the line and where they amplify a given date, they will be given in the text in parenthesis. The spelling, it is felt, should be maintained as printed, with notes or brackets to indicate the more correct forms. In view of the vast amount of research that has been done in Canada on each of the people and places mentioned and in view of the rather common knowledge of many events and dates it seems unnecessary to run a long list of footnotes of a critical and bibliographical nature. Since the work is a chronicle rather than a history Belmont constantly uses the present tense. To avoid confusion it has appeared best to use the past tense uniformly in the translation. A minimum of liberty has been taken in converting the ideas expressed in the old French, sometimes cryptically, into the modern English equivalent.

Joseph P. Donnelly

St. Louis University

HISTORY OF CANADA

by the

Abbé Belmont

In the year 1608 M. Champlain founded the City of Quebec, and made an alliance with the Algonquins who lived there. He led them in war against the Agniers [Mohawks] on the River of Richelieu: he defeated these on Lake Champlain because of his musketeers.

Over a period of twenty years he discovered the Hurons, Athistarëronons, Neutres, etc.; he returned to France a number of times; he was in the position of Lieutenant of the King under MM. de Soissons, Montmorency, and Ventadour. He brought over the Recollects in 1615; then the Jesuits were founded in 1625 by a man who, on entering the Company, gave 16,000 *écus*.[1]

Quebec was besieged in 1629 by three English ships, and it capitulated after waiting a whole year for help; and according to the terms of the capitulation it surrendered. Two years later, that is in 1632, it was given back, with the agreement that the land would belong to the French from . . . . meridan, to . . . . In 1640 the Dutch established themselves on the Orange River, called Ohioye, giving some arms to the Iroquois.[2] The Fathers Lanoue, Le Jeune, Lemoine, Brébeuf, Lallemant and Buteux were among the Hurons and composed a Huron grammar.[3]

M. de la Doversière, Treasurer at La Flèche, a man of great sanctity, had a vision of the Isle of Montreal, accompanied by an urge (1636–1640) to establish a colony there; he consulted Father la Chaise who approved of this project; he talked to M. le Baron de Fancamp and entered into an agreement with him.[4] M. de la Doversière went to Paris about the project, met M. Olier in the Luxembourg, who embraced him and, on hearing his plan, encour-

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[1] This was René Rohault, son of the Marquis de Gamaches, who on entering the Company or Society of Jesus in 1625 donated a large portion of his patrimony for the establishment of a Jesuit college in Quebec.

[2] The date is wrong for any permanent establishment which the Dutch made on the Hudson, Delaware and Connecticut Rivers.

[3] Of the Jesuit Fathers mentioned here, Lanoue is given variously as La Noue, De Noüe, Noue, instead of Le Noue; Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lallemant, and Jacques Buteau, are famed as martyrs; Simon le Moyne has had le Moyne College of Syracuse, New York, named after him. Lejeune was rector at the Quebec college.

[4] Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière, founder of the City of Montreal; Pierre Chevier was Baron de Fancamp; Father François de la Chaise, the king's confessor.

aged him; M. Olier gave a hundred *louis d'or,* and was joined with them; he went to negotiate with M. de Lauson, who owned the island, accompanied by Father Lallemant.[5] A contract was drawn up in Vienna between M. Lauson and the Company of Montreal. On his return, M. de la Doversière stopped at an inn where he met a gentleman from Champagne named M. de Maisonneuve who had been involved in the war with Holland. On hearing of the proposed organization for Montreal, the latter offered himself to Father Lallemant, who sent him to M. de la Doversière.

All the Dukes, Princes and the whole court procured or gave the privileges of independence to the governor, etc. The first expedition, outfitted at the cost of 75,000 francs, consisted of forty-five men. Mademoiselle Manse, a native of Langre, who heard someone speaking enthusiastically to a canon about Madame de la Peltrie, who was responsible for bringing the Ursulines to Canada, and of the Hospitalieres founded by Madame D'Aiguillon, felt a desire to go to Canada.[6] Going to Paris, she consulted Fathers Lallemant and Le Jeune who, on her second visit, approved of her vocation which also gained the approbation of Father Rapin, Provincial of the Récollects.

Madame de Villevoisin, [Villersavin] and Madame de Bullion offered her the directorship of a hospital for which they contributed 22,000 lbs. She set out for La Rochelle where she became acquainted with MM. de la Doversière and Fancamp through Father la Place. She set sail separately from M. de Maisonneuve, who turned back to port three times and lost his physician.

Mademoiselle Manse arrived first. The people at Quebec were very surprised at M. Maisonneuve's status of independence. They wanted to deter Mademoiselle Manse. Arriving at Tadoussac, M. de Maisonneuve found M. Carron, Admiral of the Canadian Fleet, who gave him a physician. M. de Montmagny, lieutenant of the King, wanted to deter M. de Maisonneuve from going to Montreal, and offered him the Island of Orleans. M. de Maisonneuve de-

[5] Jean-Jacques Olier was founder of the Society of Saint-Sulpice; Jean de Lauzon was later Governor of Canada; Lallemant is Charles Lallemant, the Jesuit who later served in Canada, brother of another Jesuit, Jérôme Lallemant, who with his nephew, St. Gabriel Lallemant, was already in Canada.

[6] The name of Canada's early heroine, Jeanne Mance, is spelled Manse by Belmont. Madame de La Peltrie, before her entrance in the Ursulines, was Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny. Madame the Duchess D'Aiguillon was Marie Madeleine de Wiguerod, Duchess d'Apollon, niece of Richelieu. Madame de Bullion (below) was Angélique Faure, wife of the secretary of finance, Claude de Bullion.

clared that he had not come to deliberate, and that even though all the trees were changed to Iroquois he would still fulfill his commission. M. de Montmagny changed his mind and accompanied him to Montreal in the month of October.

(1641) When M. de Maisonneuve returned, M. [Pierre] de Puiseaux, an old man, contributed his beautiful home and joined the company. He built a barge and two barques with which he sailed on May 8. M. de Montmagny came to Montreal and there the first Mass was celebrated on May 19, 1641. A point of land made by the confluence of a little creek with the river, opposite an island, was selected as the site on which to build a fort. They were employed for a whole year at this task without once being seen by the Iroquois.[7]

It was rumored that the Company of Montreal was made up of persons of quality: MM. de Liancourt, Barreau, Marguerie, Gofreventy, Morangis, Chodebonne, Plessis, Mombart, St. Frémin, Orval, Drouart, Le Prestre, M. de Bretonvilliers, de Kélus, Madame la Princesse, la Chancellière, Villeclavin, and above all Madame de Bullion.[8]

On March 19, (1642) the framework was up and the cannon were mounted. They brought twelve men among whom was M. Minime, the carpenter.

In 1643, M. de Maisonneuve was in France and Mademoiselle Manse consented to use the 22,000 lbs. on deposit through the generosity of Madame de Bullion, to hire a hundred men who could clear a hundred arpents of land which would be paid for with the 22,000 lbs., and would save the country and the hospital. This was done.

Ten Algonquins, having killed an Iroquois in their country, were pursued among the river until they came to the fort. The Iroquois, who were as yet unaware of the post, thus came to know of it.

In the month of June, 1643, the Hurons, coming to trade and finding the Iroquois at Lachine, told them about our post and our

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[7] For these early days see E.-Z. Massicotte, "Les colons de Montréal," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Series III, Vol. VII (1914), 3–65; Ralph Flenley, ed., *A History of Montreal, 1640–1673, from the French of Dollier de Casson,* London and Toronto, 1928, 107, reveals that the Iroquois were quite aware of what was going on.

[8] Belmont's list of names of members of the Company, or Association, of Montreal may be compared with that in *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal Rédigées par la soeur Morin,* Collationnées et annotées par MM. AE Fauteux, E.-Z. Massicotte, C. Bertrand, Vol. XII of the Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal, Montréal, 1921, 41–44, or in Camille Bertrand, *Histoire de Montreal,* Vol. I, Montreal and Paris, 1935, 22–24.

number. Forty Iroquois came up and surprised six men cutting wood in the forest. They killed two and took the others captive. The next day the Hurons were themselves cut to pieces; for of their number only thirty escaped and were rescued in the fort. The Iroquois went over to la Prairie de Madeleine and were unable to transport all the peltry. One of the French escaped and went to repossess the abandoned pelts and crossed the river in a wretched canoe.

In 1645 M. Daillebout,[9] a gentleman from Champagne, his wife and sister-in-law, came to live here. The King, Louis XIII, gave the Company a ship of 250 tons, some canon, etc. Madame de Bullion gave Mlle. Manse 2,000 lbs. for running the hospital, 12,000 lbs. for building, 2,000 lbs. to Mlle. Manse for alms, all of which was placed in the hands of the procurator of the Company. M. de Puiseaux regretted his donation; hence it was restored to him. Madame de la Peltrie went down to Quebec. M. de Maisonneuve with thirty men had a skirmish with the Iroquois. He effected an orderly retreat, making his whole company go ahead of him. Remaining alone, he fought the chief of the Iroquois and killed him with a pistol shot. When one of his pistols missed fire, the body of the dead Iroquois distracted the Iroquois and gave him a chance to escape. The incident happened in the snows above the home of La Vigne.

In 1646 Madame de Bullion sent 2,000 lbs., three chapels. M. de la Barre, a famous hypocrite, brought out sixty men.[10]. They built the hospital. An Iroquois mounted a tree at the foot of which the French had, by mere chance, placed a guard. A patched-up peace was made. A fort of stakes was built. The poles were twelve feet [high] and there were four bastions.

M. de Maisonneuve returned to France because of the death of his father. Madame Bullion gave the Company 20,000 lbs. and sent 2,000 lbs. to Mlle. Manse. M. Daillebout remained as commandant in 1646. M. Lemoine, who had served the fathers was sent to live here as an interpreter.[11] He came from France in 1641.

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[9] M. Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge arrived in Villemarie in 1643 as one of the proprietors of Montreal and was Governor of Canada from 1648 to 1651. It is not certain if this mistake is Belmont's or the printer's.

[10] This M. de la Barre, not to be confused with Governor La Barre, was condemned for libertinism and left Montreal after a year.

[11] Charles Le Moyne, Seigneur de Longeuil, was brought to New France as a child of thirteen. He was with the Jesuits in their missions for four years and because of his knowledge of the Indian tongues he was made the official interpreter at Montreal. Louis XIV raised him to the

In 1647, M. de Maisonneuve returned, having found his brother-in-law murdered and his mother remarried. The war broke out again. The Iroquois burned Richelieu, killing the Algonquins and the Hurons who wished to betray the French by attracting them to leave the fort.

M. de Maisonneuve could have been the governor of Canada, but he arranged to have the office conferred on M. Daillebout and made him take another trip to France.

In 1648, the Iroquois pillaged the Huron country, making Iroquois of the inhabitants and increasing their own number. They came to Montreal with their thousand treacheries, demanding to discuss peace. Lemoine and Normanville went out to meet them. They seized Normanville; but Lemoine drew a bead on two Iroquois who were near him and caused Normanville to be released. A mill and a fort were erected. They killed only one man, wounded many.[12]

M. Daillebout came as governor. M. Gofré [Gauffre] bequeathed 80,000 lbs. for the establishment of a bishopric. This was lost because the affair was not followed up promptly. The garrison was augmented by six soldiers, and the treasury of 3,000 lbs. was increased by a thousand francs. It was the great Company of the Indies that did away with the Company of Montreal.[13]

In 1649, M, Daillebout sent a flying squadron of forty men under command of his nephew, M. Demousseau.[14] Father Rapin died. M. de la Doversière, who had charge of all the funds which Madame de Bullion had given the hospital, went bankrupt. The Company was dissolved. Mlle. Manse, hearing the news, went to France in 1650 to report to Madame de Bullion. The Hurons were completely wiped out. Fathers Lallemant and Brébeuf were burned.[15] All the Iroquois went over to the French. Of 3,500

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nobility in 1668. His eight sons and three daughters are notables in Canadian history and two sons especially, Iberville and Bienville, became prominent in United States colonial history.

[12] For details of this incident see Flenley, *History of Montreal*, 141.

[13] Though it is correct to say that the Company of the Indies dissolved all previous monopolistic companies in New France, it can hardly be said that the Company of Montreal was dissolved by this New organization. The associates of the Company of Montreal dissolved themselves by giving the Island of Montreal and all its rights to the Society of Saint Sulpice.

[14] Charles d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Musseaux.

[15] The list of Jesuit martyrs, of whom Belmont mentions two, is: René Goupil, Sept. 29, 1642; Isaac Jogues, Oct. 18, 1646; John de la Lande, Oct. 19, 1646; Anthony Daniel, July 4, 1648; John de Brébeuf, March 16, 1649; Gabriel Lallemant, March 17, 1649; Charles Garnier, Dec. 7, 1649; René Chabanel, Dec. 8, 1649; James Buteux, May 10, 1652; John Liégeois, May 5, 1655; León Garreau, Aug. 30, 1656; René Menard, Aug. 10, 1661; cf. *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu*, Louvain, 1950.

only 600 were left here and 500 others wandered in different groups towards Lake Superior, constantly pursued. They finally settled among the Kikapous. Mlle. Manse brought about a reunion of the Gentlemen of the Company by an act in the Chastelet. M. Ollier was named Director.

Chicot, M. Boudart and his wife were attacked by ten Iroquois. Boudart escaped, but hearing the cries of his wife, lost his life in an effort to save her. M. Lemoine, Archambault and another, going to their aid, were surrounded by forty Iroquois and their effort to drive them off was ineffectual. They took refuge in the hospital, whose doors were open with only Mlle. Manse within. It assuredly would have been burned were it not for the flight of the men into it. Chicot hid; they found him and tried to drag him away, but he defended himself so bravely that they left him scalped. They cruelly burned the woman.[16]

Four French were attacked on June 18. Throwing themselves into a pitiful little redoubt on St. Charles Point, they began to fire. One named La Vigne, who was close by, hearing the noise and daring the enemy fire, crossed the thickets. The combat broke out again; M. Lemoine rushed there and the enemy lost thirty men. Some of the rest were wounded. Two of our men were wounded.

In 1652, M. de Lauson became Governor replacing M. Daillebout. He prosecuted Lemoine and deducted 1,000 livres from M. Maisonneuve's income, which the Company had voted to him. For this the Governor was punished, for that very year the Iroquois seized the rest of the Huron exiles at the Island of Orleans killing the oldest and some of the other [members of] Sieur de Lauson's family. All of this was in full view of Quebec. Montreal remained in grave danger. Mlle. Manse and M. de Maisonneuve agreed that he should return to France and draw out the 22,000 lbs., which Madame de Bullion had donated for aid, on condition that half the expenses of the hospital would be borne by the Siegneury, although the Siegneury was not worth that sum. This was planned in order to save the hospital and the country. Madame de Bullion approved this contract and gave 2,000 lbs. more. M. de Maisonneuve left M. de Mousseau in his place.

On October 14, 1653, the barking of dogs announced the approach of the enemy. M. Closse, a Major, was in command with

[16] See Flenley, *History of Montreal*, 155–175, for details of this and the following incidents.

twenty-four men. He sent Bostom and Lagachetière. This last was killed, but in falling killed his enemy. The other saved himself in a little earthen hut. M. Closse, surrounded by 200 Iroquois, cut across their fire and forced his way to the hut with his twenty-four men. M. Closse's powder ran out. Bostom, at a favorable moment of fire from our men, issued from the hut, passed through the lines of the beseiging enemy and went to the chateau. Returning with ten men and two field pieces, which he brought up on a little raft, he discharged his two pieces suddenly. M. Closse made a sortie and enabled those in the hut to join him. The Iroquois lost twenty men and more than fifty had their arms and legs maimed.

M. de Lauson, against his will, sent ten men without arms or provisions, of whom one was M. de St. Ange. The good woman, Parmanda, defended herself valiantly. She was thrice struck with a tomahawk, and she struck a Frenchman. M. de Plessis was killed with fifteen men.[17] He was Governor of Three Rivers and had just acted as bodyguard for Mlle. Manse.

M. de Maisonneuve remained in France. M. de Lauson sent a barque which was afraid that the chateau had surrendered and returned without doing anything.

Three Rivers was blockaded. Mlle. Manse, being at Quebec, found that M. de Maisonneuve was coming with 150 men. Father Poncet was captured near Quebec. He left a note at the place where he was captured making known the fact that Three Rivers was invested. Some Frenchmen, wishing to go and help him, being unable to find him, went to Three Rivers and managed to get inside the place under cover of darkness. While Three Rivers was blockaded, the Hurons at Montreal discovered a party of Iroquois. Announcing this to the French, they made up two parties, besieging the Iroquois both front and rear, and captured a few of their chief captains. The captain of the Hurons, named Kanontaga, went down to Three Rivers and informed the Iroquois of the seizure of their people. The Iroquois were informed that their captains would be set free if the siege of Three Rivers was lifted and peace made. The Iroquois consented to this. Kanontaga himself was almost captured at Lake St. Pierre.

In 1653, Sister Bourgeois arrived.[18] She was from Troyes, aged thirty-five, Prefect of the Congregation. M. de St. André raised

[17] *Ibid.*, 165.

[18] Marguerite Bourgeois, Foundress of the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

a levy of 105 men at Poitou, Maine and Bretagne whose salary M. de Maisonneuve paid from the 22,000 lbs. donated by Madame de Bullion. M. de Lauson, very envious, refused permission for the 105 men to go to Montreal.

A group of French posted a sentinel on a stump while they were working. He allowed himself to be seized by the legs. [1653]. The Major sounded the call to arms. One of the Iroquois, named Barrique, who was in command of the band, presented himself. He was fired on with bird shot. He fell and was taken alive. His brother a few months later made four attacks on Montreal, but Barrique called to him from the walls and obliged him to promise to make peace.

The Iroquois sacked the Isle aux Oyes which is a dozen leagues from Quebec. They killed all the members of the families of Moyen and Macart, seizing the children, of whom one was Mlle. Dugué. They came back to Montreal and made some attacks. La Barrique wanted to parley. The aforementioned Iroquois first killed a man named Daubigeon, then wished to parley. M. Lemoine had just escorted a Iroquois envoy who had told of the sacking of the Isle aux Oyes. Plans were made to surprise those come to parley. M. Lemoine captured them alone, going to them armed only with his pistols. The captain of the troop of Iroquois who offered to parley was named La Plume. He came the next day to rescue his people and was himself seized by M. Lemoine with four Indian companions.

The Agniers, under the leadership of an Indian named La Grande Armée, came to attack Montreal. Learning of the capture of the six Iroquois chiefs he made peace by which Trottier, St. Michel, Le Moyne and La Treille were returned.

Mlle. Moyen married M. Dugué; Mlle. Maur, M. de Grandville.

Peace lasted all that year (1656), and the colony advanced. However, the Iroquois killed a band of Hurons at the end of the Island. Among them was Father Gareau, who came to Montreal to die and was buried there.[19]

M. de Maisonneuve went to France (1657) to obtain ecclesiastics from M. Olier, Director and First Associate of the Company. The Jesuits had many times told him that without a foundation they could not come there, save by endangering the missions. Mlle. Manse fell and broke her arm.

M. Olier chose M. l'Abbé de Kélus, M. Souard, M. Gallinier

19 Leon Garreau, see note 15, above.

and M. Dalet who departed in Lent.[20] M. Olier died at Easter time while the gentlemen were already at Nantes.

Father [Jean] de Quen, Superior of the Jesuits, and M. Daillebout as came ahead of them to the Island of Orleans. M. d'Argenson was named Governor. He did not come out until the following year. That year, M. de Charny commanded in place of his father, M. de Lauson; and in his absence M. Daillebout acted as Governor. At this time Canada was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen. M. de Kélus had letters making him Vicar-General. He exercised that function at Quebec.

(1658) The Iroquois began war on October 27, 1657, by killing a carpenter named Nicholas Gode, who was roofing a house, and his son-in-law, Jean St. Pair. It is said that the severed head spoke. Mlle. Manse, having broken her arm and the injury becoming consistently worse, asked permission of M. de Kélus to go to Madame de Bullion and bring over some Religious from La Flèche. M. de Kélus told M. Souard that one of the Hospitalières of Quebec needed a change and to bring her hither. She came with her companion, Mlle. Manse. M. de Maisonneuve, knowing nothing about the affair, took exception to it because M. Ollier had made a contract with the Hospitalières of la Flèche.[21]

Mlle. Manse departed, going to La Flèche. 1659 M. de la Doversière, hearing that there already were Religious at Montreal, judged rashly that the coming of others would be opposed by those already present, and that those present would come to make a report and retire. On this he was enlightened. Mlle. Manse went to Paris and arranged for a foundation of the Hospitalières of La Flèche. She recovered her health miraculously at the tomb of M. Ollier. By a second miracle, she was no whit hurt when her horse threw her, eight leagues from La Rochelle, on the very arm which had been so badly dislocated.

Sister Marguerite Bourgeois, who had accompanied Mlle. Manse on this voyage, recruited thirty-two girls for Montreal besides three Religious of La Flèche. These were Sisters Brussolle, Masse and Moillac. Monsiegneur, the Bishop of Angers refused his consent. M. de la Doversière was very ill and the people of Angers were up

[20] These Sulpicians brought by Maisonneuve were the Abbés Gabriel de Queylus, Superior, Gabriel Souart, Dominique Galinier, and, as yet unordained, Antoine d'Allet. These founders of the Seminaire de Saint-Sulpice heard of the death of Olier just before sailing from France in 1657.

[21] Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, established by M. de La Dauversière.

in arms. MM. Vigne and Lamaître came also. But the day before their departure they found that they had bought so much goods that they had not to pay the freight charges. The 110 persons who were ready to leave saw themselves about to be detained. But the captain trusted their promises.

The ship had served as hospital-ship for the navy forces. Ten people died of the plague. The Religious exposed themselves [in caring for the plague stricken]. Two Huguenots were converted on their death beds.

M. l'Abbé de Kèlus received instructions to return to France. These were handed him at Montreal by the Commandant and a guard of soldiers. M. de Bellestre will come this year.

That year twenty-two men were killed and eight died. On May 21, 1660, when seventeen Frenchmen were going out they were attacked by 800 Iroquois. A man named Daulac induced the seventeen French to attack the Iroquois.[22] At the foot of the Long Sault he found a wretched fort of pilings which was sheltered by a hill. He took refuge inside it. Onontaga, a Huron who had challenged the courage of an Algonquin at Three Rivers, came to Montreal. He was told where the French were, and he demanded to go and help the French.

They first seized two canoes. Some of the Iroquois going to cut off three hundred warriors who wished to aid the beseiged fort were repulsed and have lost many peoples. They sent a few men to ask a reinforcement of 500 men coming from Richelieu to go down to relieve Quebec. The Iroquois shouted to the Hurons to save themselves by surrendering. The cowards surrendered, except Onontaga and four Algonquins, and told the Iroquois that the French numbered no more than seventeen. The reinforcement of 500 finally arrived. The Iroquois in number of 600 assaulted the for for three days, cutting down the trees.

Daulac conceived the idea of loading a musket with powder to its very muzzle, planning to hurl it as a grenade. But a branch caused it to fall back into the fort. According to Taondechoren, the enemy lost a third of their number. The seventeen French were killed, except four, of whom three finally died and the fourth was burned. The enemy, astounded at such resistance, and finally with-

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22 Adam Dollard des Ormeaux, aged twenty-five, is given credit for this first offensive move against the Iroquois; Bertrand, *Histoire de Montreal*, I, 71–75; Bertrand calls this battle of the Long-Sault "the grandest feat of arms in the history of Canada," because it saved Canada; he thus concurs with Belmont.

drew. Without this brave stand against the Iroquois all would have been lost. M. Daillebout died at Quebec, and M. de la Doversière in France.

In the month of February, 1661, the Iroquois seized (by surprise) thirteen people; in March, six; and of these four were killed. In February, our people worked without weapons at hand. Mlle. Duclos hurried to M. Lemoine with loaded guns and prevented great evil, for the Iroquois who numbered 250, fled.[23] A man named Baudoin and another named Lachapelle were captured. M. Lemaitre, a priest of the Seminary was killed on the day of the Beheading of St. John at St. Gabriel by Outréouhati Onnontagué. As he was reciting his breviary he saw the Iroquois coming to attack our people. In order to gain time he thrust himself between two of the Savages with a sword. His image was imprinted in blood on his handkerchief.

In 1662, about the time of M. Lemaître's death, M. L'Abbé de Kèlus came back to Canada incognito, from Rome. He was obliged to return to France. On October 25, 1661, M. Vignal was killed on the Island at the Rock where after calling to him the Iroquois raised a cry. The French leaped into canoes, except M. Brysat who was seized, having killed a captain of the natives and broken his own arm. M. Vignal was wounded, MM. Moyen and Duchesne were killed, and M. Réné captured. M. Vignal, already seriously wounded, was cooked and eaten. Réné and Brysat were taken to the Onneyouth [Oneida] where, after Brysat had recovered, he was horribly burned. On February 17, 1662, M. Closse, Major of the fort, was killed, with three others men, abandoned by his servant, a Flemming. On May 6, at Ste Marie, Roulier, Trudeau, Langevin and a soldier beat off fifty Iroquois. Placing themselves behind a breastwork, they were rescued by M. de Bellestre. On an other occasion at Ste. Marie, eleven Iroquois were captured.

(1663) Mlle. Manse went to France to see about the 22,000 lbs. which Madame de Bullion had given to M. de la Doversière for founding a hospital, more than half of which sum had been lost. She remained in France for two years.

The Company [of Montreal] gave this Island and the Siegneury to the Messieurs of St. Sulpice. It was thought desirable to remove from them the exercise of justice. The Iroquois killed two men on the Island of Ste. Theresa, returning from the woods by canoe,

[23] This was the wife, not the daughter of Duclos as the Mlle might indicate.

loaded with meat. M. de Ballestre rescued the rest of the group. Two Frenchmen were killed at the very gates of Montreal, going in a canoe from shore to shore. An Iroquois was killed.

Memorial of the War Against the Iroquois

It is useful and agreeable to preserve a memoir of past hardships. This was the motive which urged me, at the end of 1698, which year will probably see the war come to an end, to record in simple and brief style the history of the late war which we was waged against the Iroquois.

(1680) It has been eight years since M. le Comte de Frontenac, was Governor of Canada, where he ordered the building of Fort Frontenac by M. de la Salle at the entrance of Lake Ontario. All those years were passed in profound peace with the Iroquois and the Dutch. The most important events in the country during those years were three or four domestic disputes. The first was concerned with traffic in liquor to the Indians. In this M. the Bishop, the Jesuit Fathers and the Clergy, supported by M. Talon, the Intendent, were one party; while the other party included M. de Frontenac, M. de la Salle, the Company and the Recollect Fathers. The Bishop made this brandy traffic a reserved sin. The second problem was between M. de Frontenac and M. Perrot,[24] supported by M. Desenclos, on the subject of M. Bizar, lieutenant of M. de Frontenac's guards, whom M. Perrot, by a clever trick, held in prison for a year. This problem was sent to court of justice. The third was between M. Talon and M. Frontenac concerning the presidency of the Council. Finally, the fourth problem was some small opposition of the Justice of Montreal who wished to be free from the jurisdiction of the Seminary.

The Reverend Jesuit Fathers Bruyas, Vaillant, Millet, Lamberville, Carheil and Garnier felicitously directed the Iroquois mission of the Mohawks, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca, besides those of the Hurons and the Ottawa, the Illinois, those at the Sault Ste. Marie, the Miami, the Abénaquis and the Acadia.

They had two missions near Montreal: one of the Sault begun by Father Fremin at the inauguration of M. le Comte de Frontenac's

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[24] On this dispute between Governor Perrot of Montreal and Frontenac see Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1939, 210.

regime as Governor in 1672, and another to the Montague, opened in 1677.

The Governor of Orange was called Major Andros. Many *coureurs de bois* had shown to the Dutch the great profits which they could make by trading with the nations.

The Iroquois got for one beaver at Orange what the French sold them for ten in the woods, so they hated the French and loved the Dutch.

(1680) M. de Frontenac, wishing to prevent the French from going to trade with the nations far in the woods, for such was the order from the court, gave the Iroquois permission to attack those who did not have written authority. The Iroquois engaged in this activity with great license.

(1681) The Iroquois attacked the Illinois village when the men of the tribe were absent. They seized a thousand women and children and old people. M. de Tonty was wounded there.[25]

(1682) The Iroquois were proud of their victory over the Illinois. The English from Virginia detesting the French because of their high prices, urged on by the Dutch, shipped whole canoe loads of free goods both to the north and to the south of Lake Ontario to attract the natives to them.

A few individuals had been irritated by individual quarrels, such as Chaudière Noire [Black Kettle] who had been harshly treated by M. Perrot to whom he had brought four Ottawa. Horchouasse had injured Father Carheil. Honnonsache had been killed by an Illinois at Macinac. By all of these things, I say, the Iroquois sought occasion for breaking off relations with the French. They talked of nothing else at their feasts, dances or bathings except how to make trouble for the Governor. And, to come to the point, they began in this year at Tcheyagon by pillaging three Frenchmen: Le Duc, Abraham and Lachapelle. Next, while the barque bound for Frontenac was anchored in the Niagara River under command of Sieur Lamarque, the Seneca boarded it, tied up the pilot, and, overpowering the French, plundered 1,300 lbs. of merchandise. A short time later, Chaudière Noire with his followers forced those at Fort Frontenac to give him a great quantity of goods. Teganissorens came here to make some sort of excuse to M. le Comte. Because of such incidents, M. le Comte was recalled. His successor was M. le Fèvre de la Barre, first Intendent at Auvernge, a ship

[25] Henri Tonti, whose account may be read in Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699*, New York, 1917, 291.

captain, who had done combat as a commander in the Islands. He called himself M. le General.

M. le General began his regime by sending three of his guards decked in their helmets to tell the Iroquois to come to see him for a council in the spring at Montréal.

Then he send a man named Salvage to the Dutch to warn them not to sell arms to assist the Iroquois.

However, (1683) the Dutch went to the Ottawa and traded with them through four French fugitives to debauch them. And one [of the Dutch] named Arrathi, a brother of Aria, went by Frontenac, descended the rapids, coming to reconnoitre Montreal, gave a collar to the Savages at the Sault and returned by way of Lake Champlain with a canoe of pelts.[26]

As for the Iroquois, they had resolved not to attend [the council]. But they sent M. Lemoine with Ondotionnens, captain of the Montagne, who having run the risk of being killed by the treacherously inclined among the Seneca, took refuge with Father Garnier. Finally they pursuaded the elders among the Seneca to come and join those of the four nations who were assembling at Montreal for a general council, where also were [gathered] the Hurons, Ottawa, Algonquins and the representatives of the three missions from down here, gathered together in the large church which was not yet blessed.

The first discourse concerned the death of Hannonsache.[27] The tears of death were wiped away by eight white hats and as many shirts. These were for the Ayandés [Elders]. There were four guns for the warriors. They dug a hole to bury this discourse and covered it with four coats decorated with gold braid. There was one coat for each cabin. The river was made to pass over it by a collar. The hatchet was taken from them by a second collar. It was thrown into the lake by a third [collar].

The second discourse: The power to pillage the French who were trading without permission was removed by a fifth collar.

The third discourse: [The Governor promised] that he would punish M. de la Salle for arming the Illinois.

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[26] Aria was the Indian name applied to Arent Viele, Dutch interpreter for Governor Dongan of New York; see R. G. Thwaites, ed., *New Voyages to North America by the Baron de Lahontan*, Chicago, 1905, I, 157. However, there was also a chief who bore this name, according to J. R. Broadhead, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, V, 493.

[27] For a complete account of the import of the death of this Indian, see P, F.-X. Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, New York, 1868, III, 218.

The fourth discourse: He recognized as his children, the Hurons, Ottawa and Algonquins by five collars.

The fifth discourse: He asked them what cause they had for attacking the Illinois and the Miami.

The sixth discourse: Father Bruyas presented the collar of faith.

The seventh discourse: The Mohawks, composing only one tribe, gave one collar. Then the Algonquins and the Hurons gave a collar [to confirm] the words of the Governor. These presents got up more than two thousand *écus*.

Teganissorens, orator, chief and interpreter of the Iroquois, replied to all these collars by as many in turn. As to the question of the Illinois, he declared proudly. "He deserved to die; he killed me." No one dared to answer.

M. le General sent 16,000 livres of goods for trade.

(In November 1683) The ships brought us three companies of marines. MM. D'Hosta, Chevalier, and Aubry were the captains.

Monseigneur de Lavel went to France.

M. Perrot became angry with the aforementioned captains, making some mistakes which caused him to be punished.

(In December 1694) The [house] of the Sisters of the Congregation was burned while two of the nuns were in it.

Teganissorens came down from the Seneca to Montreal, visiting all the shores [i.e. the tribes]. Meanwhile Father Potier, coming from the Ottawa, brought news that the Iroquois had seized M. de la Barre's 16,000 livres [of trade goods]. Besides, they had beseiged Fort Contrecoeur where the Chevalier de Baugy was [established]. This greatly incensed M. de la Barre and all the interested merchants. On the heels of this news Teganissorens arrived at Quebec. His presence disturbed the French who prepared for war hastily and without proper means. Eight hundred men were assembled from the frontiers. The people of Lorette joined, and when the news reached here all the Savages made ready for war. Teganissorens was arrested.

M. de la Barre appointed M. Perrot marshal of the camp. But when that officer put all the captains' drummers in prison, he was dismissed and M. de Ste. Hélène replaced him.

This war was caused chiefly by the avarice of the merchants who, during M. de la Barre's regime were at liberty to buy as many of the trading licenses as they wished. There were 150 canoes among the Ottawa this year. There were, also, plans for trading at Niagara, Toucharenton, and among the Illinois and [other] tribes. M. de la

Barre and the merchants wanted to persuade the Iroquois to let the commerce be unmolested until the pillage of the 16,000 livres of trade goods could be recouped.

In spite of this the army set out. The force numbered 1,200 of whom 350 were Savages. Their provisions ran out. Very embarrassed, M. le General was tardy in issuing marching orders. For the most part, he wanted to make peace.

The Reverend Fathers Lamberville and Milet brought three collars to Lake St. Francis which said that the warrior Seneca had the upper hand, and that the Onondaga wanted to make peace M. Lemoine was sent. These collars were presented publicly at Frontenac. M. Lemoine left Frontenac after the middle of August. Four days later the French left for La Famine[28] where the bad air, rotting fish and, above all, the infection of camp refuse which was never cleared away, caused fever to break out in the army. Finally Oureouhati came to offer excuses and submission to the Governor for the Seneca who were absent. Thus he made vicarious satisfaction.

(1684) M. Demeules, the Intendent, returned. M. Champigny came. At the end of the war there arrived by ship M. de Callières, M. Hénault de Rivaux, Governor of Montreal, and three ship captains. In May they began the foundations for a new Seminary.

In the month of May, (1685) with the arrival of the ships we learned the news. First, of the appointment of M. l'Abbé de Saint Vallier as Bishop of Quebec, in spite of all his relatives who wanted to keep him [in France] as well as the whole court where he had a great reputation for sanctity. Secondly, M. de la Barre's recall was announced. His handling of the Iroquois had displeased M. de Seignelay who called the affair the disgraceful peace of M. de la Barre. Thirdly, it was known that M. le Marquis de Denonville, commandant of a camp of the King's Dragoons, had succeeded M. de la Barre bringing 600 men with orders to crush the Iroquois. Finally, the conversion and death of the King of England was made known.

L'Esperance was killed on December 15.

The regime of M. de Denonville lasted four years.

In the year 1686, he prepared for war and requested troops.

In the year 1687, he went to lead the troops against the Seneca.

In the year 1688, he made peace.

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[28] Site at the mouth of the Salmon River in the present state of New York.

In the year 1689, he was defeated at Lachine and was recalled.

In the winter (1686) M. Denonville made presents to the Savages at the Sault and to the Montagne. They received 200 livres, their share in blankets.

In the month of February the Hurons were led on the hunt by the traitor, Astolack of Katogue or Saxina, where he held rendezvous with the Seneca who captured them, i.e. the Hurons, some willingly, some by force to the number of 120.

In the spring, seven Englishmen came to trade at Missilimakinac and collected 200 pelts. On the way home they were seized by the Miami. These same Miami were captured by the Iroquois who were attacking the Miami village in the absence of the men. The Iroquois captured 200 women and children. The Iroquois followed their customary, cruel practice of roasting the children and forcing the mothers to eat them. The mother of one little girl fought desperately. The Miami warriors, learning of this, reunited and returned, pursuing the Iroquois, killing 127 and rescuing some of the captives.

Meanwhile, Turcot, Roland and Grandmaison, French traders, were pillaged by the Iroquois. On another frontier three brothers, Ste. Hélène, d'Iberville and Maricour, with their cousin St. André, seized two ports on Hudson's Bay, Kichichouan and Prince Rupert, assisted by M. de Troyes, commandant of a detachment of the navy. They degraded the governor on an island.

M. de St. Vallier visited Acadia and then returned to France.

Ville-Marie was inclosed by a wall of palings. In the meantime, Dongan, Governor of Manhatte, a very evil man though a Catholic, persuaded by Du Plessis, Lafontaine and Marion, fugitive French, of the profits to be made at Missilimakinac sent a man named Grégoire[29] there with a large party of sixty men and 3,000 livres of goods to open trade. When they learned that M. Du Luth guarded the passage of Toncharontio which communicates from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, they passed by Taronte and guided by Lafontaine, Marion, Gaustassy and Tegannenstet, and came in sight of Missilimakina sixty in number about the month of May. M. de la Durantaye, a brave and prudent officer who was in command, judging that it was necessary to prevent a meeting of the Ottawa and the Dutch, set out ahead of them with his company. All the Savages rushed out making a large party in the woods within gunshot of the French.

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[29] The English trader McGregor. Michilimackinac is spelled variously as indicated below.

Strangely, though all the Savages set out in favor of the Dutch because their cheapness, Gregoire believed that they had come to escort and support the French. M. de la Durantaye, without giving them time to declare themselves, being between the Savages and the Dutch, advanced with his company, their guns cocked. He forced the sixty Dutch to lay down their arms, bound them and gave their goods as plunder to the Savages and the French, thus gaining those who might have revolted.

Meanwhile, M. le Marquis de Denonville, who thought seriously of going to war, during the previous autumn sent presents to all the nations of the Ottawa, the Miami, the Illinois, and the Poux [Puans] with instructions to the three captains, Du Luth, captain of Toncharontio, Tonti, captain of the Illinois, and la Durantaye, captain of Missilimakina, as well as to all the leaders of the *coureurs de bois,* such as Nicholas Perrot, chief of the Poux, Micheloque, etc., to come to Ganientaragouet at the beginning of July.

Nothing was more carefully or more secretly handled than this matter. The preparation of supplies and the directions for the missions on the frontier were so guarded that neither Father Lamberville, who came from the Onondaga, nor the Savages had any suspicions. On the Governor petitioning troops, they sent him 1,500 recruits of the marine under command of M. de Vaudreuil, Marshal of a garrison of musketeers.

It is true that the King has wanted to send a detachment of veteran troops, but since those depended on M. de Louvois, such was the jealousy of M. de Seignelay that he preferred these poor militia recruits. Finally they arrived in time with a promise from the court to send others. They marched out on June 11. The army contained a representative from the four missions: 100 men from the Sault, sixty from the Montagne, forty from Lorette, sixty Abnaki, and 1,800 men, troops and militia, in four batallions, commanded by Dugué, Berthier, Verchères and Longueuil. M. de Callières[30] was the lieutenant-general.

M. the Intendent, de Champigny arrived first and, having called the Savages of Frontenac, an expedition was sent to all the Ganneyousse and those of Kente, whom he bound in chains within the fort to prevent them from opposing us in the campaign. There were about forty men and eighty women and children.

It was really a pity that the Savages who were, so to speak, un-

[30] Louis Hector, Chevalier de Callières, in charge of the government at Montreal in April, 1684, at the outbreak of the English-Iroquois war.

der our protection should be seized, pillaged and bound, captured by a trick of a [proffered] feast. And what is worst, first, at the end of the campaign these men were sent to the French Galleys, secondly, the greater part of the women died of sorrow and of illness which broke out in the dwellings. Horchouasse, Ouiongouen and Onnonouaragon and Onandaga who came to the city of Montreal when the army was setting out, were seized. The first of these was also sent to France. Finally, this whole plan [i.e. of seizing Indians to serve in the French galley] was so bitterly criticized that it was not continued. And if there was too much severity in the beginning, there was too great laxity at the end.

In any case, the flourishing army of troops brought so righteously about the first of May, the campaign begun so propitiously, the general abundance, all of these gave the highest hopes in the world. The army was met by a canoe coming from Toncharontio to announce that the three captains, Tonty, Du Luth and la Durantaye, were coming by Lake Erie, bringing the nations and the *coureurs de bois.* And besides, the last captains was bringing the sixty Dutch prisoners.

To profit by this fortunate juncture at the beginning, they left on the third of July, having sent three barques with supplies by way of Lake Ontario. These were to be anchored at Aténiatarontagúe. [Irondequoit Bay] We arrived there safely after seven days of marching. And by a happy coincidence which rarely comes to pass, as we arrived at ten in the evening the Indian allies with the three captains and six hundred men also marched into the camp.

Canada has never seen, and perhaps will never again see, such a spectacle. There were three ships anchored opposite the camp in which was a division of French regulars with their general staff. There was a division of the *habitants* in four batallions with the noblesse of the country, a division of Christian Savages, and lastly, a cohort of all the barbarian tribes, naked, armed with war clubs, painted with all sorts of figures, horns on their heads, tails hanging behind, and armed with arrows. One heard an infinity of languages in the night, chanting, dancing and all sorts of tongues. The Seneca came to spy on us and slunk off to burn their villages and flee.

An entrance was opened into the little lake of Aténiatarontagúe and a fort was built. The order to march came on the twelfth of July towards evening.

M. de Callières, the lieutenant-general, led the advance guard which was composed of 300 Christian Savages on the right flank

under command of M. de. Ste. Hélène. The pagan Savages were on the left flank with three companies. One hundred Ottawa, thirty Poux, one hundred Illinois and fifty Hurons, under command of the interpreters, Nicholas Perrot, Micheloque and Penar with the *coureurs de bois* and volunteers in the middle, making eight or nine hundred men.

At some distance from the advance guard marched the corps of the four batallions of troops and four of the militia. M. le Marquis was at the head of the troops, and M. Dugué was leading the militia.

The advance was somewhat precipitate. The tired troops suffered from thirst for the day was very hot. The two groups became too far separated from one another. Also, the scouts were deceived, for, coming to Gaensera, they encountered five or six women wandering in the fields.[31] This was a ruse employed by the Iroquois to lead the French to believe that they were all in the village. Actually, this was the reason for making the forced march, for M. le Marquis hoped to encircle the enemy before they fled. But this was the chief cause of all that followed, for the Mohawks of Garistatsi and Gannaganroquen fled by boat in the night. Passing to the Senaca, they announced our numbers and our objective, but above all that [our] Savages were wearing red war-bonnets.

First the [enemy] warriors took off their breech-clouts in order to be taken for Ottawa, who did not wear them. Then they made war-bonnets, which were so clever that we took those wearing them to the allies. Finally, the women and old people, laden with what goods they were able to carry, fled to Ouiongouen. All the [enemy] warriors to the number of 800 resolved to lay in ambuscade.

The territory of Gaensera is quite mountainous. The village is on a high hill which one mounts by three terraces. In the valley, made by the high hills opposite, there runs a rapidly flowing and well wooded stream which makes of the valley a marshy thicket. The enemy chose that location for an ambuscade, placing 300 men along

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[31] Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV, Boston*, 1891, 156–157, indicates the site of the battle from O. H. Marshall's research and says the chief town of the Seneca was Gannagaro, on the top of Boughton's Hill. He draws heavily on this, Abbé Belmont's "excellent account" of the warfare described in the following paragraphs. Denonville's official account is translated in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, 357–369.

the banks in the rushes and 500 at the base of the hill, hidden by the foliage. The plan was that the first ambuscade of 300 men should allow the French to pass through and thus expose their rear to fire. This would drive the French against the second ambuscade, hidden in the marshes at the base of the two hills.

However, they were themselves deceived. Our advance guard under M. de Callières was so far separated from the corps commanded by M. le Marquis that the Savages thought the advance guard to be the whole army. Hence, when the advance guard passed the cover where they were hidden, they raised a terrible shout and fired a volley.

It is inevitably a disadvantage to be surprised and to fall into an ambuscade. The Ottawa and pagan Savages all fled. They were on the left of the French advance guard, which was composed of the three companies of Du Luth, Durantaye and Tonti. That flank was thus left unprotected. The Christian Savages of the Montagne, the Sault and the Algonquis held and let off two charges.

M. le Marquis advanced with the corps of battle composed of the royal troops. His objective was the seizure of a little fort built of stakes which commanded the high hill. But in the confusion induced by the surprise, only M. de Valrenne distinguished himself. M. Dugué, in charge of the rear guard, rallied M. Berthier's fleeing corps, and ordered the division from Montreal to fire two hundred rounds. Mlle. Marquis, in his shirt-sleeves and a sword in his hand, ordered the batallions to fire and the drums to be beaten, but by then almost no one was left.

This so terrified the 300 Seneca in the ambuscade that they fled towards the 500 warriors in the ambuscade below. They so feared that a whole, vast army was upon them that they took flight percipitously, leaving their clothing in a heap. They were seen no more.

It was decided in council that because of the lateness of the hour it was wise to camp on the battle field to avoid further surprise attacks. Reaching the site of the ambuscade, they found fourteen dead or dying Iroquois. They chopped off the heads of these and bore them off [as trophies]. One of the survivors said that the Iroquois band numbered 800, 300 above and 500 below. He also declared that the Ouiongouens were to come the next day. It was this information which decided the French to stay where they were. The next day they found more dead Savages and provisions and other survivors whom they killed.

On our side, Father Angelran [Enjalran], a famous missionary

to the Ottawa, was pierced through the thighs.[32] Among the French, Nantura, Filliatro and some others were killed.

Of our Savages, the following were killed: Tegaretouan, Le Soleil of the Montagne, a brave Christian in every sense, Oyenratarihen, La Cendre Chaude, Sault, Gonhiagou, Le Ciel of the Hurons. Three wounded Savages were carried off the field of battle as well as many of the French, who suffered much, borne as they were on stretchers by four men who were frequently relieved.

The next day the army moved out in battle order, expecting an attack. They went down the hill to a little valley or gorge where there was a river bordered by a thicket. At the base of the hill the river flowed into a marsh or deep morass so densely covered with a stand of alders that it was almost impenetrable. It was there the enemy had laid their ambuscade and where we, perhaps, would have met defeat had not our advance guard been taken for our whole force and been fired on so quickly. M. le Marquis very prudently decided not to continue the campaign for it is a trick of the Iroquois to flee, hoping to draw one into a more disastrous position. Passing the marsh, (1688) which was about twenty arpents in extent, we came upon two or three hundred discarded blankets and as many guns. From there we were able to see the famous Babylon of the Senecas. It was a town or little village of bark huts, situated on the brow of an earthen mound which was approached by mounting three terraces. At a distance, the hill seemed to be completely covered with round towers. But there were only four great bins of bark set close to one another. They were about four feet high and about five feet in circumference. They were storage bins for Indian corn. The inhabitants put their village to the torch about a week ago. We found nothing undamaged in the village except the cemetery and the tombs. The only residents were snakes and animals, except a hideous mask with teeth and eyes of brass. There was a bear skin covering for the mask. It was before this object that they carried on their incantations in their cabins. In four different places there were large bins of grain which they had not been able to destroy. Besides this place, they had their Indian corn stored, to the depth of a man's knee, in a log fort placed on top of a little hill which was protected by its sheer sides. The Seneca had four large villages which they moved every ten years to keep near to

[32] Jean Aljaran, mentioned in O'Callaghan, *Documents*, IX, 356, 383, 393; for an account of his dealings with Frontenac and Cadillac see Jean Delanglez, "Cadillac at Detroit," MID-AMERICA, n.s. XIX (July 1948), 164–167.

the forest and allow them to grow. The larger of these villages was called Gaensera and Tohaiton while the two smaller were named Onondaga and Onnenaba. Ganonketahoui, the principal chief, dwelt in this last named place. The French cut the grain in the fields. It was already fit to eat. They burned the old grain. It was estimated that 100,000 minots of old grain was burned and 150,000 minots of growing grain destroyed, besides pork and beans which they foraged. Sixty people died of battle wounds, but a larger number died of illness. Many of the Savage enemy fled beyond the mountains of the Onondaga, which separated that nation from Virginia, and went to live in the country of the Andastoez [Conestoga]. The slaves dispersed. From this time the Seneca, who had at most eight or nine hundred warriors and ten thousand people in all, were reduced by half.

After this, in spite of the Savages, who believed that we would continue on to Ouienguien, Onnondaga and the other Iroquois, the French went to build a fort at Niagara. We arrived there after a three day march. This place is on a point of land formed by the meeting of Lake Ontario and the Niagara River, an eminence about sixty feet high. It is ten leagues from the famous Falls of Lake Erie, which is in this River and about ten leagues below here the River flows into Lake Ontario.

Henceforth, I will discuss neither descriptions of places nor of actions, but I shall limit myself to chronology.

M. de Troyes was left in charge. He was one who had been to Hudson's Bay with sixty men.

We crossed over Lake Ontario from south to north. Here the Lake is about four leagues wide. A light wind was blowing, which made waves as on the sea. Arriving, we beheld an agreeable spectacle. For a quarter of a league along the river every tree had a flayed roebuck hanging from its branches. M. de Troyes died of dysentery. Everyone in camp contracted the disease from the fresh pork and beans which they had eaten. After coasting past Tehiagon, Kente and Ganeyousse, near the River of the Tannahoute, the French reached Fort Frontenac in a storm, which obliged them to spend the night on a rock or little island. Aug. 15, 1687. Arriving at Fort Frontenac, we found M. le Marquis angry with us, and not without reason, for we had been followed by Iroquois. After four days of marching we reached Montreal.

(Aug. 20, 1687) Five hundred Iroquois came to Frontenac where M. d'Orvilliers was in command. Four hundred Iroquois

came down the river. Ten soldiers, under Captain Duclos, were lost in the woods at Frontenac. Eight men who had gone to harvest peas informed the fort. Three soldiers were captured with Mlle. d'Alonne who was forced to mount a stump, wearing Chaudière Noire's hat. Two soldiers were killed in a pine tree lookout.

(Sept. 24, 1687) The barque, loaded with provisions, left for Niagara with Father Lamberville abroad. The fort at Frontenac was beseiged for a month. The one at Niagara was attacked by forty canoes, some of which they sank.

Of 400 Iroquois who came down the river, sixty took nine boats from la Galette, where the water was shallow. There were loaded with equipment and provisions for the soldiers. Duclos commanded the detachment. The Iroquois killed Vincent at the foot of the Island and Fournier on the Island.

Notable combat of l'Evitier, an ensign, who saved Amiconti. He drew a sword and killed the Savage who had him. He saved the captain of the barque and had his hat pierced.

On the fourth of October, 150 Mohawks beseiged Chambly where M. Du Plessis was in command. They captured a soldier, his wife and child.

In December the Mohawks burned Verchères, killing eighty head of stock. L'Etang, an officer, relative of Verchères, was killed in the River Richelieu.

Grégoire, who had been taken at Michilimakina by La Durantaye and brought by boat to Frontenac, after working there, came down to Montreal and was sent back [i.e. to his people]. He came as an ambassador with Onnaské, the Toad. Father Vaillant went to the Iroquois, assembled at Orange, to attempt to negotiate, but he was unable to accomplish anything and came back.

On the morning of February 16, news came from Frontenac that the Seneca had offered collars to Father Lamberville at Frontenac in order to make peace.

M. Ste. Hélène went to fetch Father Lamberville, suffering from scurvy, and to provision the fort at Frontenac. Twenty soldiers were sick there. M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, died as also did M. de Troyes. M. de la Durantaye died at Niagara from scurvy. So also did most of the garrison. This disease never fails to appear in garrisons which are nourished chiefly on salt meat when beseiged. They are unable to get out and grow green vegetables.

(March 30) Father Vaillant came back with Mlle. d'Alonne and

Gastari, husband of Aratable of the Montagne. M. de Ste. Hélène, the captain, while conducting eighty French from Frontenac, was attacked at Tonihata. Four of his men were killed and one was taken prisoner.

Some Mohawks came to corupt the mission at the Sault and to assure [the Savages there] that the French were lost. Thirty men and twenty women left the mission of the Sault.

After the departure of Father Vaillant, Dongan assembled the governors of Maryland, Boston, Virginia, Baltimore and Pennsylvania with the Iroquois to whom he gave bundles of cords with which to bind the French and to take vengeance on M. de la Durantaye for having captured the pillaged Grègoire at Michilimakinac.

On June 2, the Chevalier d'Eau brought news that a host of Savages, among them Chaudière Noire, Outréouhati, called Big Mouth, and Gagniegoton, were coming to offer peace. It was believed to be a trick. How often our belief in what we desire blinds us! Finally, they came and held council, or peace negotiations under the direction of Father Lamberville as plenipotentiary in the treaty.

(1688) First Article: To raze Niagara where there are 100 men dead and which is impossible to provision. Second: to bury the hatchet with the Ottawa. Third: to return 91 slaves which the Sault and Montagne owned.

This year, scurvy or other cantageous diseases caused the death of a hundred men at Niagara, the same number at Frontenac, a like number of Abnaki and 1,400 in Canada.

(July 5) The Abnaki among us, after contracting debts at Three Rivers, went off to live near Orange. They came to burn a Frenchman. On the sixth and ninth of the month, they burned Sorel, St. Louis and Boucherville. On the eighteenth, Larivé and Nicolas brought back thirteen prisoners, both French and Savage. M. de Callières went up to Frontenac with a thousand men.

On August 15, five of our Savages of the Montagne were attacked by the Onondaga at Orakonenton. Two were killed, of whom one was Haratsion, a fine young man who was much mourned.

The Abnaki in the colony attacked the English, taking ten Iroquois scalps, and six of the English.

The Rat, a Huron of Teonontate, took Tegannissorens in order to block the peace. Pionontio turned traitor and said: I have killed the peace. It was to his interest that the Governor not make peace lest the Iroquois fall upon him.

Monseigneur came from France.[33]

(March 1689) Onnonchiagon came to spy on the Onnontouac. Three great chiefs came to decieve and abandon us. Ondechio, husband of Sagoguenchon came and returned. Tiontoragué also came, treacherously promising peace.

On July 14, news reached us of the English revolution and of the war.

Jean-Baptiste Honnentarionni found Iroquois on the Island. They seized his shirt and bracelet saying that they would restore them to him if he persuaded the village to follow the Iroquois and that the French were lost. Honanderon said that this was true. Neither we nor anyone else wished to believe him.

Meanwhile Attérihata returned or fled from the village of the Onandaga, reporting that all had left. In effect, 1,400 Iroquois, of whom many were women in mens dress, had departed. The wife of Garatolan gave the alarm.

(June 1689) This caused M. le Marquis to order all to retire inside the forts. (July) He sent Father Lamberville and M. de Longeuil as an embassy to the Iroquois to meet and placate them.

Finally, on August 24, in the middle of the night, the 1,400 Iroquois passed Lake St. Louis in the rain and a hail storm. Platoons were arranged to guard every house, along a distance of seven leagues, and then began a general massacre of men, women and houses.

There follows a list of names mostly illegible.

When the news of this startling massacre arrived, M. le Marquis dispatched M. de Vaudreuil with 300 men. On arriving at the Iroquois camp at the upper end of the Island, they found almost everyone drunk. It was an excellent opportunity to destroy five or six hundred of the enemy and to rescue the prisoners. But by a decision, the wisdom of which I will leave to others to judge, he [i.e. Vaudreuil] refused to permit a slaughter, declaring that he had orders to the contrary. Three of the Iroquois were captured in the fort called Présentation. They were beaten to death in the cave.

A surgeon, escaped from the Lake of the Iroquois, announced that Father Milet had been captured, attracted by the Iroquois who pretended to need him to hear the confession of a dying Christian.

M. le Comte brought the party to Fort Roland. The next day,

[33] Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix Chevrier de Saint Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec.

August 5, a large band descended from their camp at the upper end of the Island, posting themselves between Fort Roland and the church at Lachine. They stayed partly in the woods and partly in the field where the wheat was already high, passing on information by sentinels who were posted in trees.

L'Arabelle, a reformed captain, was ordered to take forty men to reinforce Vaudreuil. M. le Marquis stayed to guard the village where his wife and family were residing. L'Arabelle was joined by a band of Sault and Montagne. But the Iroquois, leaving the band of Savages unharmed, shot at the soldiers and laid low the greater part of them. They fell upon L'Arabelle, whom they captured with La Plante and Villedenné. Seven Savages from the Sault, seeing the French fleeing, wanted to reach the fortified church where M. Olier was holding out. But because they were old and weary they were all slaughtered at the foot of the mill. Lahaie's face was shattered by a sabre and he was killed.

After this complete victory, the unhappy band of prisoners suffered all the rage and vengeance which the most cruel Savages could invent. The victorious army took the prisoners beyond Lake St. Louis. In crossing it they shouted ninety times to indicate the number of prisoners or scalps they had taken. They called: "You deceived us, Ononthio; now we have tricked you." When they landed, they lighted fires and burned five of the French at the stake. They roasted six children, grilling them over the coals and eating them. They led others off to be slaughtered at Onandaga where they became victims of their vengeance. There the prisoners were obliged to walk many times over a road of burning coals.

Shortly afterwards the whole village of the Sault came to live in the town because the Savages were fearful. They brought their grain which was stored under the church.

Orders were sent to Frontenac for the garrison to abandon it. The bastions were blown up besides part of the walls. At the beginning of October M. de Frontenac came to take over the government.

(Oct. 16, 1689) M. Du Luth and Mante gave the best account of themselves in this war. Twenty-seven Seneca were discovered and encountered by as many French on the Lake of the Two Mountains. M. Du Luth placed his canoes in tandem so that the sun was shining into the eyes of the enemy. He ordered his men to stand the fire of the Savages. The enemy did not wound anyone. Then M. Du Luth ordered each canoe to attack crosswise from the

flank. This plan was executed so cleverly that the enemy tumbled into the lake. All were killed except two. The Algonquins burned one of these on the spot. The other was burned at the stake at Montagne by order of M. Denonville.

On November 13, the Iroquois executed another horrible massacre at Lachenaye on a day on which there was a light snow fall. During the night they slaughtered twenty French, spilling their members and viscera on the snow.

On the fifteenth, Pagnet, a merchant was killed at his home.

On the twenty-seventh, the store house of the Seminary was destroyed by fire. It was full of goods and provisions.

(Febr. 3, 1690) M. d'Iberville and Ste. Hélène with 120 French and as many Savages, came to Corlar. Finding the gates open they burned the fort, sparing the women and children and thirty Iroquois. d'Iberville took the lead. On March 30, twenty-five soldiers, leading the horses belonging to the Dutch were intercepted by the Iroquois whom they had so recently spared. Fourteen of them were captured.

On March 8, Gagniegonton came with the collars.

On July 2, a party of Iroquois, coming down the River of the Prairies to Repentigny, effected another massacre. Twenty men were killed and thirty Iroquois. Pierre Milet was killed and his daughter was burned at the stake. Three of the Lajeuness family suffered the same fate. Meunière's daughter was captured. Sergeant Dumoulin was killed. Lieutenants Daillot and Colomb were killed. Charles Pouliot also lost his life on the Island of Ste. Therese. Plancheau, Gervais, Baudry and Desroches were killed and Lamour captured.

Le Gemeraye and d'Hosta killed ten Iroquois and lost five men. Le Chevalier de Clarmont recovered five boys. MM. Ste. Hélène and Valrenne left to capture the Iroquois.

(Aug. 18) All the grain was destroyed and there was a famine.

There was a fight at St. Francis where twenty soldiers were killed, also thirty Iroquois.

Le Chevalier D'Eau was seized on his way to Onandaga. Colin, one of his canoe men, was burned and Bouviat killed.

News arrived that thirty-two ships were coming to beseige Quebec under command of William Phipps. M. Prevost, the major, prepared fortifications. M. de Callières brought a thousand men from his jurisdiction. M. le Comte de Frontenac mustered 3,000 men. He was summoned by trumpet to surrender with a promise of mercy if

he did so within an hour. His response was haughty, as it should have been. The English dropped down to Beauport. The war was fought after the manner of Savages, shirt-tails flying and constant harassing. The English retired with 100 men dead and 300 wounded. In their flight they abandoned their cannon in disorder. On re-embarking, they had to face the fire of MM. Trouvé, Joliette and Lalande. The great ships, raked with canon shot, sank with fifty men aboard. Their frozen bodies were recovered the following spring. The banner of the Blessed Virgin, flying from the steeple of Quebec, escaped damage from the cannon.

(May 2, 1691) The Mohawks took six Ganneyouse in the neighborhood of the mountains of Chambly. Then thirteen were seized by Onnonouagaren in order to acquire information.

On May 7, the Iroquois burned M. le Bert's mill at the River of the Prairies. Guillion's wife, Grégoire and his wife, Goulet, the farmer from Lachenaye, and a host of others defended a forty foot breach against 300 Iroquois. Verchères and a soldier were killed.

On May 17, seventy Iroquois, creeping up to Montagne at night in three groups fell on the Savages during the fourth hour of the night when all were sleeping. We lost Tondiharon. Thirty shots were fired, but the aim was too low. They lost seven men.

[*A long List of Illegible Names Follows*]

On June 17, M. de Bienville took command of a party to go in pursuit of the Iroquois. Having overtaken them, eighty were seized and brought back. They were not harmed. They bought powder and rifles.

(Aug. 10, 1691) Learning that the Dutch planned to attack La Prairie, M. de Callières went there. The inhabitants were camped on one side of the fort and the soldiers on the other. In all they numbered about 1,200. Debauchery there was extreme. Meanwhile, before daybreak, eighty Mohegans slipped up a ditch behind the mill, killed the sleeping sentry, scalped six Ottawa and killed twenty inhabitants. When the captains at the fort came running to the battle, three were killed at the gate by an ambuscade especially stationed to slaughter them. The dead captains were, St. Criq, Hosta and Cairac. L'Evitier and Domergus were despatched. The latter was killed with a dozen men and three prisoners.

The Dutch, under Peter Schuyler, not daring to engage so many opponents, returned, as though victorious, without assaulting the

fort. But Valrennes and Demuy, sent out purposely to discover the Dutch before their arrival, announced their presence. Each took to an ambuscade. The Mohawks with Peter Schuyler were discovered in their ambush. They had to bear the brunt of the fire both from the Hurons and Valrenne's soldiers as well as from the Dutch. The enemy had 101 men killed. In spite of their losses they broke through our ambush. Our Savage allies fled, but M. Guay rallied them and led them back. The enemy gave up. We missed an opportunity by not pursuing them.

On October 12, M. de Vaudreuil set out in command of a party. M. Guay went along. But Sorel was relieved.

Seventeen men and their women were attacked at the Sault by thirty Mohawks, back of St. Michel. Eight escaped. Two of the enemy were found dead. The enemy was pursued and given battle. Fifteen of them were killed. Gaxari and Garistatsi were taken prisoners and were slaughtered.

One hundred and twenty men of the Sault, forty of Montagne, twenty from Lorette and 100 French attacked Onneyouth's band. M. Guay led the Savages. Beaucourt, Auberville and Beaubassin commanded the French.

(February 1692) Tateguenondahi, chief of the Seneca, was surprised on an island in the River Keutsague at the foot of Lake St. Francis. There were sixty men, of whom twenty-four were killed and twenty made captive. Six Saultiers were killed and three chiefs of the Montagne. M. Guay went into the icy water up to his knees, sleeping in the snow. He was practically starving and suffering from an ulcer in his tooth and cheek.

In May, a week after the Feast of Corpus Christi, our people who had an escort four hours a day, were surprised by Iroquois lurking about Brulé Rapid. La Valterie was killed, Ononari was captured. Oganontara, though wounded, was saved. Ononari was later rescued by Barbouchi who killed seven Iroquois at Frontenac. Seven French were killed at the Brulé Rapid.

(Jan. 20, 1693) Six hundred men, five hundred French and a hundred Savages, led by M. Guay, attacked the three Onandagas villages and burned them. One hundred and fifty Mohawks were captured, but not tortured. The Iroquois, assembled at Onneyouth with the Dutch, pursued the French to the Lake of the Blessed Sacrament which our army was fortunately able to cross. The next day it froze; otherwise our people would have been at a great disadvantage.

The people of the Sault saw 100 of their relatives taken by the Dutch. Fifty of them, who escaped, nearly died from the cold.

Thirty-six French accompanied the Têtes de Boules, a tribe of the Long Sault, were attacked by sixty Iroquois. Fourteen French were captured. Of these, Artel and eight others were killed. Labuissière, a sergeant, and Lagorgendière saved themselves, crossing the Sault in a broken canoe.

Sagenouara, Vincent, Faucher and nine others were killed at Lachine. Three of the children of the Montagne were captured on the Isle Ste. Thérèse. Villedenné escaped. He had been taken with L'Arabelle five years before by Chaudière Noire who commanded sixty Iroquois. A party of 550 men was assembled under command of MM. Vaudreuil, Crisasy and Mantet. They marched to the Ottawa River above the Sault. Despite the noise made by the party, the enemy did not see them since the sun was in their eyes. The French surprised them at a crossing. Chaudière Noire was just coming up as we began our attack. Forty were captured or killed, but the rest escaped. We lost La Potherie, Montesson, Labrosse, noblemen, the latter a great debauchee who had carried off *une* . . . . . He wanted to truss up a Savage who had cut him on the face with a sword. He was a relative of M. de Champigny. Besides him, Joachim Lavallée was killed and also two Savages. The next day they went to search for enemy's stores. They went openly in canoes so as to be discovered. They fired a volley at us which killed Urbain and wounded another in the knee. A child was baptized by fire. Taréha gave back St. Amour who had been seized in 1690.

Orchouche with Ouiengiens restored thirteen slaves, among whom were M. de Hertel and M. de Joncaire.

A party led by M. de Louvigny went to the Long Sault. M. Guay marched out for the third time. De Louvingy wanted to avoid going through the woods to Onderakontera. He came back with the Savages and made a raid in which eight were killed. His prisoners were burned at Montreal. Charleville was killed.

La Durantaye killed ten Iroquois at Boucherville.

M. le Comte went up to the Onondaga at the age of seventy-four and burned Onneyouth. M. Guay led the Savages to war for the fourth time. A jackass frightened the Iroquois when he brayed in the night.

(1697) Birth of Staouennah, named Sorel. Return of Father Milet, taken prisoner at Frontenac in 1689.

(1698) Chaudière Noire killed thirty French. The death of M. le Comte de Frontenac.

(1699) M. de Callières succeeded M. le Comte and made peace.

(1700) We lost six hundred people by death of capture. Many of those captured have returned.

The Iroquois have had as many losses, and all good men.

The Ottawa and other allies have lost as many. They have been diminished by half.

End.

Maximilian's Asiatic Colonization Scheme

Introduction

The attempts of various Mexican governments to foster colonization programs is an interesting as well as little known facet of Latin American history. Hard shell Confederates planned colonies in Mexico, Venezuela, and Brasil. Abraham Lincoln in the early years of the Civil War had a plan to settle the river bottom lands of Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec with Negroes, and advertisements of Mexican colonization societies appeared in mid-nineteenth century San Francisco newspapers. The plan for Asiastic immigration, however, will be news to many historians.

A slim, twenty-four page pamphlet with orange covers—one item in the vast collection of Mexican pamphlets found in the Sutro Library, San Francisco—furnishes us with an appreciation of the ambitious plans current in Maximilian's Mexico.

The Emperor, acting to maintain the integrity of Mexico, refused to accept Dr. Gwin's plan for the settlement of northern Mexico with Confederate *gringos,* despite Napoleon III's support of the project. He was not averse, however, to the importation of Orientals to overcome the sparsity of population in the Empire.

The pamphlet, published in 1866 by J. M. Lara, contained, in addition to the laws of the colonization company, the decree of the Emperor and the contract awarded to the company for the importation of settlers. These two documents prove to be of interest and value in a study of the period when grandiose plans were being made, all to tumble in ruin on a June day in 1867 in Queretaro.

The pamphlet is entitled *Estatutos de la Compañía de Colonización Asiática.*

Through a most humiliating editorial error the name CHARLES DILLON *is printed here instead of* RICHARD H. DILLON *to whom we offer profound apologies.—Ed.*

Sutro Branch
California State Library

I

DECREE. MAXIMILIANO, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Considering the urgent need which exists in the Empire for workers to give impetus to all lines of endeavor which constitute the public wealth, heard our Council of Ministers, WE DECREE:

Art. 1. There is conceded to D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for a term of ten years, the exclusive privilege of introduction of workers from Asia into the Empire.

Art. 2. The Enterprise will bear the name "Company of Asiastic Colonization."

Art. 3. Said Company will carry out its operations in complete accord with the bases stipulated in the contract annexed to this Decree.

Our Ministers of Public Works, of the Navy, and of the Treasury will attend to the fulfillment of the contract in the points with which each is concerned.

Given in Mexico City, on the 10th of December of 1865.

MAXIMILIAN

To the Minister of Public Works.
BY THE EMPEROR,

The Minister of Public Works,
Luis Robles Pezuela.

II

CONTRACT. Contract celebrated between the Minister of Public Works and D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for the formation of the "Company of Asiastic Colonization."

Art. 1. The Government of His Imperial Majesty concedes to D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for a term of ten years, the exclusive privilege of introduction of workers from East Asia.

Art. 2. The Company which D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis forms will be allowed to bring to his haciendas in Veracruz, in the form of an experiment, five hundred Arabs from the Viceroyalty of Egypt, conducted by steamships. The Government of His Imperial Majesty will further permit the Enterprise, in the future, to introduce these colonists, if they prove useful to the country.

Art. 3. The Enterprise will have the authority to constitute itself as a Society in Commendam, or Stock Company, formed by means of shares of stock. In the case that it should be impossible to obtain the necessary Capital with Mexican subscriptions, the concessionary will be allowed to gather it or complete it in a foreign country.

Art. 4. The Company remains authorized to transfer, by conventional prices, the contracts of all the workers, to those who solicit them.

Art. 5. The Company must carry, apart from the books necessary in any mercantile business, one of registry of effectives and casualties among the imported laborers, as well as the relation of the persons to whom the contracts are transferred.

Art. 6. The surplus of provisions and habiliment, which the ships of the Company may have, will enter free of all duty, provided that they are not packaged.

Art. 7. The ships of the Company will pay no port dues, nor lighthouse dues, but will pay those of pilotage.

Art. 8. The Concessionary will not be allowed to introduce into the Empire anyone but men legally authorized to enter into contracts.

Art. 9. The workers who substantiate it in order to go to Mexico, will solemnly obligate themselves before abandoning their native land, if they are adults of twenty-five years of age, to serve for the stipulated time of their contracts, in the occupations for which they were destined; whose time (which will be at least five years and cannot be more than ten, without prior renewal of the contract) will begin to be counted from the day of their disembarkation. But if they should be minors, they must obtain the competent authorization of their parents, grandparents, tutors, and in the ultimate case, of their Government.

Art. 10. For whatever infraction of the preceding article, the Company will make satisfaction with a fine of one thousand pesos, being obliged in addition to restore to their native land the laborers who did not come according to the stipulation of the present contract.

Art. 11. The Company will pay the Public Treasury the sum of thirty-two pesos for each worker who disembarks in the

country. If one or several of them should die during the thirty days after disembarkation, and before being transferred, the Government will refund that which it may have collected on the introduction of the deceased workers.

Art. 12. The ships which the Company occupies will be well ventilated, being opened for that effect as many scuttles as may be necessary: The depth of the holds between decks must not fall below six feet.

Art. 13. It is prohibited that the Company should bring the workers crowded together, the number of them that each transport may carry to be calculated at the rate of three men for five tons.

Art. 14. The provisions will be wholesome and in quantity which will not fall below a pound of meat or fish per day, and another pound of rice; it being also necessary that each worker have vegetables at least once a week and tea at will during the entire voyage.

Art. 15. As a principle of humanity, the Company binds itself solemnly and under its most rigid responsibility (which the Government will make effective in the manner that it judges most convenient) to put into practice for the conveyance of the workers, the elemental rules of hygiene: for this end each ship will have a physician to take care of this point and care for the sick.

Art. 16. The captain will examine, before embarkation, and under his responsibility, the quality of the provisions and water, taking care that during the voyage the rations mentioned in Article 14 are measured out. If he does not verify this, he will remain subject to a fine of one thousand pesos, and the penalty which the law imposes.

Art. 17. The Company is obliged to have enough provisions and water for six months aboard the vessels which come to the Gulf of Mexico, and for ninety days in those which are destined for the Pacific ports. The ships must also carry, besides the mess, provisions which can be distributed to the passengers at cost price.

Art. 18. The Concessionary accepts and promises to fulfill each and every one of the clauses of the present contract, with the stipulated penalties in it.

Art. 19. The Government of His Majesty dispenses its high protection to the "Company of Asiastic Colonization" for all that concerning the privilege conceded by decree of the Emperor.

Art. 20. If within a year, counting from this date, the Company has not made the first introduction of workers, the privilege which is conceded to it will lapse.—Ministry of Public Works, Mexico, December 9, 1865—The Minister of Public Works, Luis Robles Pezuela.—M. B. da Cunha Reis.

Copy. Mexico, December 13, 1865.—The Provisional Sub-Secretary of Public Works, Francisco Jiménez.

End.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 34, NUMBER 3 JULY 1952

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VOLUME 34 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 23 NUMBER 3

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Propaganda Uses of the Underground Railroad

In the years between the opening of the slavery controversy and the close of the nineteenth century, many people, involved in some way in aiding fugitive slaves to escape from bondage, wrote articles and stories relating the thrilling exploits of the humanitarian underground railroad. Most of these tales followed a fixed pattern, although minor variations appeared. With skilled pens, zealous antislavery writers painted a picture of frightened fugitives, hotly pursued by vindictive masters and "regular Southern" bloodhounds.[1] The runaways always escaped their would-be captors through the ingenuity and daring of underground railroad "engineers and conductors, ticket agents and train dispatchers,"[2] whose secret but "deep laid scheme" of organized aid[3] enabled the erstwhile slaves to wend their way to the freedom-loving North or to "shake the British Lion's paw" beyond the Canadian border.[4]

Note. This paper was read in shortened form on April 19, 1952, at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. As a re-evaluation of the significance of the underground railroad it comes on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the first publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in March, 1852. Editor.

1 Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography of Mrs. Amanda Smith, the Colored Evangelist*, Chicago, 1893, 32.

2 Eber M. Pettit, *Sketches in the History of the Underground Railroad*, . . , Fredonia, New York, 1879, Preface, xv.

3 *Ibid.*, 35.

4 Representative underground railroad accounts can be found in the following works: James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and the College*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1883, and "The Underground Railroad," in *Publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society*, IV, 91–121; Elizabeth Buffum Chace, "My Anti-Slavery Reminiscences," in *Two Quaker Sisters*, New York, 1937. This is a reprint of a pamphlet written in 1891. William Mitchell, *The Underground Railroad*, London, 1860; R. C. Smedley, *History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of*

Despite the mass of romantic and exciting underground railroad literature, the secret organization loomed larger in reminiscence and propaganda than it was in reality. Many fugitives from slavery either refrained from using it or made their escape in ignorance of the facilities the organization provided. When Frederick Douglass left his slave home he borrowed "free papers" from a friendly sailor, and, unaided by abolitionists, traveled North as a free Negro. In 1834, when William Wells Brown escaped from slavery, he supposed "every person" his enemy and "was afraid to appeal to anyone, even for a little food to keep body and soul together."[5] Other fleeing bondsmen also relied upon their own resources and ingenuity. Many traveled alone at night, following the North Star and getting aid from other slaves, free Negroes and Indians. Some of lighter complexion successfully passed as white men. William and Ellen Craft escaped from their Georgia slave home by passing as master and servant. Ellen posed as a young planter badly injured and William acted the part of the faithful servant trying to lead his master to medical attention in the North. The ruse succeeded and the Crafts' imaginative self-help scheme rewarded them with the freedom they sought.[6] Like many other fugitives, the Crafts contacted abolitionists only after they had already escaped from the South. But the numbers who escaped from slavery without any organized assistance did not discourage abolitionist agitators from using the underground stories for propaganda purposes.

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War abolitionist enthusiasts circulated stories of the underground railroad and its line running from slavery to freedom. The combination of courage, adventure and pathos described in the tales was extremely effective, but not all adherents of the abolitionist cause favored the emphasis

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Pennsylvania, Lancaster, Penna., 1883; Alice A. Minick, "Underground Railroad in Nebraska," in the *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Second Series, II, 70–79; H. F. Paden, "Underground Railroad Reminiscences," in *The Firelands Pioneer*, New Series, V (July, 1888), 19–27; William Still, *The Underground Railroad*, Philadelphia, 1872. This collection of underground railroad tales gleaned from memory and the files of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee has served as a source book for later writers. *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*, New York, 1898, by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert is the only attempt at a scholarly study of the underground railroad. This work relies heavily on reminiscences of abolitionists and letters and interviews with various individuals involved in the work of the underground railroad.

[5] William Wells Brown, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*, New York, 1863, 23.

[6] Still, *The Underground Railroad*, 368–377; *The Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Presented at New York, May 6, 1851*, New York, 1851, 27.

given underground railroad publicity. In 1855 Frederick Douglass wrote, "I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what *they* call the *'Under-ground Railroad,'* but which . . . by their open declarations, has been made, most emphatically, the *'Upper*-ground Railroad,' " whose "stations are far better known to the slave holders than to the slaves." Douglass honored the abolitionists for their "noble daring" but questioned the good of so much publicity. "It may," he admitted, "kindle an enthusiasm, very pleasant to inhale; but that is of no practical benefit to themselves, nor to the slaves escaping."[7]

In spite of Douglass' concern, abolitionists continued to publish and spread stories of fugitives' experiences, including detailed expositions of escape methods. The crusaders fully realized the value of such propaganda. "These fugitive stories," wrote an anti-slavery worker, "produced a great effect on all who heard them."[8] The feminine firebrand, Angelina Grimké, admitted to Theodore Weld that while she rejoiced to learn of a recent slave escape, "some of the pleasure was abridged by the caution to keep these things close." She heartily approved of Weld's plan to send the former slave to England and then urged him to publish the "tale of woe," for, she exclaimed, "such narratives are greatly needed, let it come burning from his own lips in England and publish it here. . . . Names, dates and facts will give additional credibility to it. Many and many a tale of romantic horror can the slaves tell."[9]

Her co-workers in the abolition movement heeded Angelina's advice and published many a tale of horror. Some fugitive slave stories had already been published, and in 1838 Whittier's account of the James Williams narrative rolled off the presses. In 1843 Moses Roper's escape story appeared in print. Roper's tale, like most of the early slave narratives, contained no mention of the underground railroad. His was a story of escape without organized aid, although some Southern whites did befriend him as he made his way North.[10]

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[7] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, New York, 1855, 323–324. In the early editions of his memoirs the famous Negro reformer refused to reveal his own escape plan for fear its publication might render the plan useless in the future.

[8] James Freeman Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days*, New York, 1883, 92.

[9] Angelina Grimké to Theodore D. Weld, January 21, 1838, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké; 1822–1844*, 2 vols., New York, 1934, II, 523.

[10] John G. Whittier, *Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave*, New York, 1838; Moses Roper, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper from American Slavery*, London, 1843, *passim.*

A steady stream of slave reminiscences followed these first accounts.[11] Literate abolitionists penned the stories of former slaves who could not put their own words into writing. Each new booklet repeated stories of Southern horror and brutality replete with a "foul stream of sexual licentiousness," the "selfishness, . . . cruelty, . . . and profligacy" of the Southern character,[12] and the savagery of "human bloodhounds"[13] conspiring in the "hidden chambers of the dread prison house"[14] to undertake new aggressions against Northern freedom, decency and righteousness. The black picture was only mitigated by a few Southerners, mostly women, "who in secret weep and mourn over the misery and the sin against which they have not the strength thus bravely to protest."[15] The misery and horror of life in the South as pictured in slave accounts was calculated to have a definite effect on Northern readers. One militant abolitionist wrote, "if the publication of such thrilling narratives as this . . . do not rouse the people of the non-slaveholding States . . . not only to withstand the aggressions of these . . . despots, but to break up their tyrannies, then we may look to the day, not distant, when . . . the threat of Senator Douglas, 'we will subdue you,' shall be literally fulfilled, and Senator Toombs may call the roll of his slaves upon Bunker Hill, or the plains of Saratoga."[16]

It was, however, the product of Harriet Beecher Stowe's fertile imagination that proved to be the most important propaganda item inspired by the underground railroad. Written shortly after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was an immediate answer. Three hundred thousand copies were printed in one year, and the work soon became popular in Europe where it appeared in numerous translations. Transposed into a drama, Mrs. Stowe's message reached thousands untouched by the book, and the effect was tremendous. "Now melting to tears," wrote Senator Charles Sumner, "and now inspiring to rage, her work everywhere touches the

11 Typical slave memoirs include: Charles Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains; or, The Life of an American Slave,* New York, 1860; Lewis G. Clarke, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, . . ,* Boston, 1845; Moses Grandy, *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave, . . ,* Boston, 1844; Charles Stearns, *Narrative of Henry Box Brown, . . ,* Boston, 1849; Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro,* London, 1855; Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave,* New York, 1849; William Grimes, *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave, . . ,* New Haven, Conn., 1855.

12 New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* July 5, 1856.

13 *Ibid.,* August 16, 1856.

14 *Ibid.,* July 5, 1856.

15 *Ibid.,* December 6, 1856.

16 *Ibid.,* July 5, 1856.

conscience, and makes the slave hunter more hateful."[17] The book molded opinions everywhere in the North, and in the South at least fourteen pro-slavery novels answered its indictment of Southern society.[18] One abolitionist writer rejoiced that "whilst our wise Legislators were fulminating their anathemas against agitation, and solemnly resolving and re-resolving that it should be discountenanced . . . Mrs. Stowe was preparing a firebrand which was to make it blaze with new fury."[19]

Through the medium of slave memoirs and fiction the cruel scenes of the Southern "peculiar institution" soon became familiar in the North. However, the printed word was at best a poor substitute for the living victim, and abolitionists delighted in using the fugitives themselves as propaganda instruments. In 1855 Ohio anti-slavery workers displayed a family of six fugitives, "a specimen of the fruits of the infernal system of slavery." The "surprised and horror-stricken" spectators "generously contributed" money to send the fugitive family on its way to Canada.[20] Levi Coffin, self-styled president of the underground railroad, often exhibited frightened fugitives in his home. He once took a female fugitive to a Quaker Meeting in West Elkton, Indiana. The crusading Coffin later recalled with satisfaction the effectiveness of this technique in raising the morale and extending the operations of the West Elkton abolitionist circle.[21]

The erstwhile slave, Frederick Douglass was a favorite speaker at anti-slavery meetings after 1834, when abolitionists first became convinced that exhibiting "a graduate" of the institution of slavery would make a favorable impression on an audience. Douglass, a powerful speaker and dramatic personality, spoke to numerous audiences in America and England. In Europe he told listeners how he had "to fly from the screeching of the eagle, and take shelter in the lap of the lion."[22] In America Douglass loved to relate his

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17 *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., (1851–52) Appendix, 1112.

18 Merle E. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, New York, 1943, 446; Parrington said of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "It brought the system home to the common feeling and conscience." Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, 3 vols., New York, 1927, II, 376. The volume quoted is entitled *The Romantic Revolution in America*.

19 *Twenty-First Annual Report presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society by its Board of Managers, January 26, 1853*, Boston, 1853, 53.

20 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 25, 1855.

21 Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, Cincinnati, 1880, 206.

22 Quoted in *Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1884, 46.

famous slaveholder's sermon based upon the text "servants, be obedient unto your masters."[23] Douglass' manner was proud and his technique effective. According to James Russell Lowell, "the very look and bearing of Douglass are an irresistable logic against the oppression of his race."[24] William Wells Brown also spoke frequently, often reading his own anti-slavery dramas to attentive audiences throughout the North.[25]

Abolitionists fully exploited the propaganda value of former slaves, but these victims were not the only heroes of the underground railroad line. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Federal courts increased prosecutions of those who aided escaping slaves. The brave prisoners of conscience who could not appear publicly because of their incarceration for the cause of freedom played an important role in the propaganda war against the antebellum South. William M. Connelly's twenty-day ordeal in the Cincinnati jail set off a chain of sympathy demonstrations in his behalf. Women of the city carried to his prison cell fresh-plucked strawberries, hot pies and other delicacies. The Cincinnati public school teachers paraded to the honored convict's abode, and Horace Mann led a group of visiting Unitarians down to the prison to offer spiritual advice and good wishes to the suffering martyr.[26]

Imaginative abolitionists utilized fully the Connelly incident. The climactic event planned by the propagandists was a gala procession and torchlight festival in celebration of Connelly's release from jail. The men planning this colorful event did not realize that Connelly's sentence expired at noon rather than at the evening hour included in their plans. An emergency committee rushed to the jailor who agreed to keep the suffering martyr under lock and key until the proper release demonstration could take place. At the appointed hour, a drenching rain failed to dampen the spirits of the gay crowd. A uniformed band of musicians and several highly decorated carriages bearing men prominent in Cincinnati's Republican Party marched to the jailhouse gates. The procession marched through Cincinnati's German district, for the various German societies played a prominent part in the pageantry. The demonstrators climaxed the evening with a mass meeting at Turner Hall

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[23] Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, Washington, D. C., 1948, 20–23. See also the Appendix for an excerpt from Douglass' slaveholder's sermon.

[24] *Ibid.*, 19.

[25] *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 20, 1855.

[26] Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 587; Boston, *The Liberator*, June 18, 1858.

where Connelly spoke of his experiences and effectively discredited Stanley Matthews, the Democratic district attorney who had prosecuted him. Stanley Matthews, who had formerly been a Whig and abolitionist, felt the effects of the Connelly case for a long time afterwards. Political opponents used the incident to defeat him as candidate for Congress in 1876, and later opposed his appointment to the Supreme Court because of the Connelly prosecution. He was finally allowed to sit on the court after 1881, despite the continued efforts of former abolitionists to check his appointment.[27]

In Wisconsin, abolitionists struck a rich vein of publicity in the famous Booth case, which touched off innumerable anti-slavery diatribes and demonstrations. In 1854 a slave owner, with the aid of the sheriff, captured a former slave near Milwaukee and carried him to the local jail. Abolitionists in the area soon learned of the incident and sent word to Sherman M. Booth, an anti-slavery editor in Milwaukee. Booth immediately organized a demonstration, riding through the city shouting: "Freemen! To the rescue! Slave-catchers are in our midst! Be at the court-house at two o'clock!"[28] At the subsequent meeting a mob broke into the jail and released the fugitive, who departed shortly for Canada. Federal authorities charged Booth with aiding and abetting the escape and he received a sentence of one month in prison and a $1,461 fine and costs. The case dragged on in the courts until 1860, when he finally submitted to judicial defeat and entered prison. Refusing to pay his fine, he found himself facing an indeterminate period of imprisonment, but when his friends wished to pay it for him, Booth forbade it, telling them "it would be far more creditable . . . and better for the cause," to give the money to his wife.[29] Furthermore, he refused to ask President Buchanan for a pardon, saying "I think I am doing more here than I could out."[30]

Mass meetings assembled to protest Booth's arrest and imprisonment not only in Wisconsin, but in many Northern communities,

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27 Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 588; *The Liberator*, July 2, 1858; Selden Gale Lowrie, "Stanley Matthews," in Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index, New York, 1928–1944, XII, 419.

28 Quoted in Vroman Mason, "The Fugitive Slave Law in Wisconsin, With Reference to Nullification Sentiment," in the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Forty-Third Annual Meeting Held December 12, 1895*, Madison, 1896, 124.

29 Sherman M. Booth to John Fox Potter, March 16, 1860, John Fox Potter MSS., (State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

30 Booth to Potter, March 16, 1860, John Fox Potter MSS.

for the anti-slavery forces fully capitalized on his case for publicity purposes. In Milwaukee's Young's Hall a state anti-slavery convention passed resolutions against the Fugitive Slave Law and in support of the slave rescuers.[31] Another meeting of enthusiastic abolitionists convened in the same hall to protest Booth's conviction.[32] Still another group passed a resolution calling the Federal judge in the case "an old Granny and a miserable Doughface," while a fourth assembly resolved to help Booth out of his troubles, "if we have to do it at the point of a bayonet."[33] The widespread notice given Wisconsin's Booth case cheered the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose officers felt that "a most sound and healthy tone of feeling appears to have pervaded that youthful Commonwealth."[34]

Another widely publicized underground railroad incident was the famed Oberlin-Wellington Rescue, in which Ohio abolitionists rescued a fugitive slave from a United States Marshal in Wellington, Ohio. In December of 1858 the Federal government indicted thirty-seven alleged accomplices under the Fugitive Slave Law and their legal fight gave signal to a series of demonstrations, sympathy rallies and political meetings throughout Ohio. When the Oberlin abolitionists left for their trial in Cleveland, a cheering crowd gathered at the Oberlin station to bid them farewell.[35] In Cleveland a widely publicized "felon's feast" honored the crusaders.[36] Sympathetic spectators packed the courtroom during the trial and cheered the defendants' strong statements.[37] None of the abolitionists served more than eighty-five days in prison, but while they paced cells in Cleveland jail their fellow workers made good use of their martyrdom. Large gatherings enabled Ohio citizens to learn of the righteousness of the abolition cause and the Republican Party. The largest of the meetings was held on May 24, 1859, in Cleveland, where various Republican leaders gave "stirring speeches." One orator told the crowd that "the Democracy of this day is opposed to civil and

31 Mason, "The Fugitive Slave Law in Wisconsin," *loc. cit.*, 127–128.
32 Milwaukee *Sentinel*, January 29, 1855.
33 Mason, "The Fugitive Slave Law in Wisconsin," *loc. cit.*, 135–136.
34 *Annual Report, Presented to the American Anti-Slavery Society, by the Executive Committee, at the Annual Meeting, held in New York, May 9, 1855*, New York, 1855, 49.
35 *Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society by the Executive Committee for the year ending May 1, 1859*, New York, 1860, 92.
36 Jacob R. Shipherd, ed., *History of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue*, Boston, 1859, 5.
37 *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year; Being the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, New York, 1861, 64.

religious liberty."[38] Another advised the ladies in the audience to influence their men folk to vote the "slavocracy" out of power. They should, he advised, tell their husbands and lovers "to go to the polls and do their duty, then come back and claim their reward."[39]

Oberlin sympathizers held meetings in the summer of 1859. By this time, partisan lines divided public reaction to underground railroad propaganda. Republican politicians took credit for underground railroad activity, and newspapers generally slanted underground stories to fit their political bias. A Democratic editor from Cleveland referred to the "rebellious Higher Law creed" of Oberlin's "myrmidons of Mormonism,"[40] and other Ohio Democrats called the four naturalized Britishers among the rescuers the "Oberlin Jacks and Donkeys."[41] After government officials released the Oberlin rescuers, Republican editors printed stories of a magnificent "triumph" for "Freedom,"[42] and a "disastrous defeat" for those who had tried to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law.[43]

When the last Oberlin prisoner left his cell in July of 1859, local abolitionists prepared more gigantic demonstrations. In the small Ohio village one hundred guns saluted his return and abolitionists held a mass meeting in a crowded church.[44] Meanwhile ambitious anti-slavery workers collected materials for a book based on the Oberlin case. The volume went to press barely a week after the last Oberlin martyr left prison, and readers of Garrison's *Liberator* were told to "Read it . . . and MOURN over your country's degredation; scatter it broadcast over the land, that a SLAVOCRATIC NATION may see the depth of depravity and wickedness into which it has fallen, and arouse, repent and reform."[45] Anti-slavery propagandists were not unhappy about the Oberlin martyrs. One wrote in retrospect concerning the case, "It stimulated discussion, roused popular feeling, extended and deepened the abhorrence felt toward slave catching . . . and called forth many an emphatic utterance of that sentiment from pulpit, and press, and public meeting, and so helped on the preparation of the public mind for the inevitable death-grapple with the Slave-power, toward which all events are surely drifting us."[46]

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38 Shipherd, *History of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue,* 251.
39 *Ibid.,* 256.
40 Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* cited in *ibid.,* 267.
41 Shipherd, *History of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue,* 272.
42 *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year,* 68–69.
43 Cleveland *Leader,* cited in *ibid.,* 68.
44 Shipherd, *History of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue,* 276–279.
45 *The Liberator,* July 22, 1859.
46 *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year,* 71.

Unfortunately, not all individuals involved in underground railroad work were as unselfish as the Fugitive Slave Law martyrs. Some people found a source of income in underground railroad activities. Avaricious boat captains running north from Southern ports profiteered on slaves desiring to escape from their drudgery. When a group of abolitionists hired Daniel Drayton to arrange for the escape of a group of slaves from Washington they included in his expense account one hundred dollars to pay for the hire of a boat. The captain of the *Pearl* offered the use of his vessel for this illegal purpose since the amount offered was "considerably more than the vessel could earn in any ordinary trip of the like duration."[47] Another profit-conscious boat captain made it his business to circulate underground railroad stories to the unfortunates held in Southern bondage. He contrasted an alluring picture of northern freedom with the unremunerated monotony of slave toil. The Fugitive Slave Law, he told his slave listeners, did not apply to the Northern States. His encouragement to find a haven in the North stimulated at least one unsuspecting Negro to pay the captain two hundred dollars, only to find himself in Boston without aid or friends in view. "The moment the vessel touched the wharf, the scoundrel bade the poor fellow be off in a moment; and he then discovered his liability to be pursued and taken."[48]

Alleged agents of the free Negro colonies in Canada sometimes swindled humanitarian anti-slavery workers. In 1833 the inhabitants of the Wilburforce free Negro colony warned anti-slavery workers not to give any contributions to their former agent, Israel Lewis, who had proved untrustworthy.[49] A member of the colony later lamented that the dishonest agent "collected money professedly for the assistance of the colony" but "would neither pay it over, . . . nor give any account of his proceedings. Very little did he ever pay over to the aid of the colony as designed."[50]

Abolitionists, fugitives, and wily profiteers were not the only ones to benefit from underground railroad propaganda. A thorough knowledge of the underground railroad stories provided excellent emotional ammunition for beggars. In 1855 a bogus fugitive received aid from New York abolitionists before they discovered her

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[47] Daniel Drayton, *Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton, . . . ,* Boston, 1855, 25.

[48] Theodore Parker, *The Boston Kidnapping: A Discourse to Commemorate the Rendition of Thomas Simms. Delivered April 12, 1852,* Boston, 1852, 59.

[49] *The Liberator,* February 9, 1833.

[50] Austin Steward, *Twenty-Two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Freeman,* Rochester, 1857, 187.

to be an imposter. Anti-slavery workers printed the story in their newspaper and warned their readers that "we hear very frequently of cases of imposture under pretence of having run away from slavery. Sympathy with fugitives is now so general that dishonest colored persons often succeed in getting pretty liberal supplies of clothes and money without running any serious hazard of detection and exposure."[51]

A year later a Detroit abolitionist told the story of one man who made a practice of traveling through the country begging, "sometimes to buy himself, and at other times his family." He described the fake fugitive carefully, and cautioned abolitionists against accepting any signed credentials the dissembler might present. "Fluent in speech, fully calculated to take advantage of many persons," this imposter went from house to house in some neighborhoods and managed to collect "a considerable amount" of money.[52] Philadelphia anti-slavery workers also encountered pretended underground railroad passengers,[53] and in New England the Quaker abolitionist, Elizabeth Chace, met with two imposters who profited from her anti-slavery sentiments. One of them was an escapee from a nearby prison whom the State authorities later apprehended. While at the Chace household, the would-be fugitive "made himself very interesting and agreeable to us during his stay, by his stories of southern life, by his elegant manners, and especially by his great desire to learn about our ideas of right and wrong."[54]

Not all of the ante-bellum uses of the underground railroad propaganda were illegitimate. Henry Bibb, the Negro colonizer and journalist, used underground railroad stories extensively in his paper, *The Voice of The Fugitive,* published in Sandwich, Ontario.[55] Bibb delighted in printing these lurid tales and used them to raise money for his Canadian colony as well as to add punch and color to the publication. Bibb pointed his journalistic shouts of defiance at the Southern institution. In his paper dated November 5, 1851, he boasted, "we can run a lot of slaves through from almost any of the bordering slave states into Canada within 48 hours and we defy the slaveholders and their abettors to beat that if they can."[56]

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51 *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* July 14, 1855.
52 *Ibid.,* July 12, 1856.
53 Smedley, *The Underground Railroad,* 338.
54 Chace, "My Anti-Slavery Reminiscences," in *Two Quaker Sisters,* 164.
55 John W. Coleman, Jr., *Slavery Times in Kentucky,* Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1940, 243; Fred Landon, "Henry Bibb, a Colonizer," in the *Journal of Negro History,* V (October, 1920), 443.
56 Coleman, *Slavery Times in Kentucky,* 242.

Southern slave owners were not the only ones to be disturbed by Bibb's rantings. In 1853 an enraged incendiary started a fire which destroyed the Bibb press. This occasioned an extra edition of the abolitionist sheet informing readers of the decision to go on with the publication, appealing for funds, and relating the latest news of the underground railroad. Although limited space somewhat cramped Bibb's style, he briefly noted, concerning underground operations, "the cry is, still they come, from all parts of the Southern States."[57]

Spokesmen for the Southern cause accepted the stories of Bibb and the abolitionists at face value and answered them. One Louisville editor claimed that "the operation of the Underground railroad and the certainty of escape when once the line is passed, take from 1500 to 2000 slaves from this State alone each year."[58] Another ante-bellum editor complained that "the northern fanatics have so systematized their efforts to steal our slaves, have so organized their underground railroad, that it is impossible for individuals, however vigilant, to frustrate their designs."[59] Many an editor culled underground railroad files for material to clinch a partisan argument. A South Carolinian argued against recognition of Lincoln's election by labeling the Republican administration one "whose creed it is, to repeal the Fugitive Slave laws," and whose object was to transform the underground railroad into an "*over*-ground railroad."[60]

The Southern response to underground railroad propaganda constituted another phase of the idealogical war between the sections which preceded the armed conflict. However, it was in the post-war period that abolitionist writers produced the great wealth of underground railroad literature. Dipping their pens in the blood of the recent conflict, these venerable crusaders recorded youthful deeds of heroism and daring.

William Still, a Negro active for many years in the work of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, wrote one of the first books on the underground railroad. Still's work became a major source book for later writers and historians, many of whom repeated his

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57 Reprinted in *The Liberator*, October 28, 1853.

58 Louisville, Kentucky *Daily Courier*, December 20, 1860, cited in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession*, New York, 1931, 359.

59 *Frankfort Commonwealth*, March 11, 1856, cited in Coleman, *Slavery Times in Kentucky*, 244.

60 *Charleston Mercury*, October 11, 1860, cited in Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession*, 179.

stories in their own writings. It was Still's avowed intention to give his readers only "simple facts" with no resort to "coloring to make the book seem romantic."[61] Despite his proclaimed objectivity, Still informed his readers that "those who come after us seeking for information in regard to the existence, atrocity, struggles and destruction of Slavery, will have no trouble in finding this many-headed monster ruling and tyrannizing over Church and State, North and South, white and black, without hindrance for several generations. Nor will posterity have any difficulty in finding the deeds of the brave and invincible foes of slavery."[62]

William Still wrote about cruel and abusive masters who drank excessively, gambled frequently, and delighted in whipping naked slave girls. Still's data came from the files of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee. The members of this group carefully questioned each former slave who needed its financial assistance. The committee's preference for libertine masters nearly deprived one needy fugitive of the necessary aid for a trip to Canada. This honest woman claimed that she was "used very well" and "had it good all her life." Her adamance "somewhat staggered the faith of the Committee, but they could not dispute her testimony, consequently they gave her the benefit of the doubt."[63]

Not all of the applicants for aid from the Vigilance Committee were oblivious to the prejudices of the group. One hardy fellow told the thrilled committee of the life and death struggle which preceded his escape. The slave's enraged master gave him twenty blows on the head with the butt of a cowhide, beat him with a shovel until the handle split, and then stabbed him across the stomach and about the head, after which he managed to escape and run for sixteen miles carrying part of his entrails in his hands "for the whole journey."[64] Another destitute fugitive told the committee that he lived three months in a cave "surrounded with bears, wild cats, rattlesnakes and the like."[65]

The methods used by Still to gather evidence for his story were scientific compared with those of most abolitionist writers. The aging zealots perceived events dimly through the passing years and recorded with further embellishment the exaggerated stories of their ante-bellum predecessors. Levi Coffin used his diary and some other

61 Still, *The Underground Railroad*, 5.
62 *Ibid.*, 3.
63 *Ibid.*, 435.
64 *Ibid.*, 496.
65 *Ibid.*, 130.

remaining documents plus his memory when writing his reminiscences in 1880. The seventy-eight year old abolitionist admitted that errors were destined to appear in his writing because of his advanced age.[66] Another writer, a descendant of abolitionists, deplored the passing of underground railroad workers, and confessed difficulty in distinguishing fact from fiction. This historian admitted the necessity for reliance "largely on tradition for a history of those stirring days."[67] The Quaker Robert C. Smedley visited aged participants and added their recollections to his own in his history of the underground railroad.[68]

The post-war writers of the underground railroad used failing memories and hearsay to concoct their versions of the institution. The writers were all Northern and most of them were connected in some way with the abolitionist movement. Their stories repeated the same sectional hatred, glamorized adventures, and stereotypes which characterized the accounts of ante-bellum writers.[69] The post-war crusaders introduced a new theme into the literature, however. Revered and respected abolitionists recalled to the minds of their readers the unpopularity of abolitionists in the earlier period and the hardships involved in the crusader's life. The white-haired writers of anti-slavery reminiscences delighted in reminding posterity of the vindication of their cause. With quivering pen one of these battle-worn knights wrote "we must concede that it required the manhood of a man, and the unflinching fortitude of a woman, upheld by a full and firm Christian faith, to be an abolitionist in those days, and especially an Underground Railroad agent."[70]

Another elderly crusader wrote "the friends of liberty" were only "invigorated by . . . persecution, . . . and the great upheaval advanced constantly as the people were informed. Violent hostility was thus the means of keeping up the agitation against itself; agitation led to information and thought, and that to constant enlistment

66 Coffin, *Reminiscences*, Preface, ii.

67 O. A. Garretson, "Travelling on the Underground Railroad in Iowa," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXII (July, 1924), 423.

68 Smedley, *Underground Railroad*, Preface, x.

69 Some representative abolitionist accounts of the underground railroad are: Austin Bearse, *Reminiscences of Fugitive-Slave Law Days in Boston*, Boston, 1880; James F. Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days;* Marvin B. Butler, *My Story of the Civil War and the Under-ground Railroad*, Huntington, Indiana, 1941; Samuel J. May, *Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict*, Boston, 1869; Dr. Alexander Milton Ross, *Recollections and Experiences of an Abolitionist*, Toronto, 1876; Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years*, Boston, 1891.

70 Smedley, *Underground Railroad*, Preface, xv.

and progress."[71] In 1884 William Wells Brown evaluated the abolitionists' characters for the benefit of a commemorative meeting of former anti-slavery workers. Brown, who could not attend the meeting, sent a letter telling the aging reformers that "for moral courage, self-sacrifice, indomitable will, true magnetism, patient waiting, and sublime eloquence, these men and women were without a parallel in the world's history of reformers."[72] The aged abolitionists nodded with approval when, at the same meeting, another speaker reminded them "how the darkness of that period was dissipated in the brightness of the emancipation morning! The present generation . . . cannot know what it was to be an abolitionist in the country's 'Martyr Age.' "[73]

Rambling old folks were not the only ones to write and speak of underground railroad activities in the post-war period. Local historians in the Northern states wrote with pride of the role of their sections in the underground epic. Every barn that had ever housed a fugitive became an underground railroad station in post-war histories. "Almost every hamlet" in Ohio, wrote one local historian, "had at least one station."[74] Another writer of county history apologetically explained the lack of underground railroad tradition in his area by a dearth of abolitionists there.[75] A Wisconsin antiquarian related in detail one escape episode and then told his readers that the incident offered proof that an underground railroad branch "ran through the eastern part of Walworth County."[76] Another historian boasted of the early date when fugitive slaves found refuge and help in his Ohio county.[77] One writer gave clear indication of Pennsylvania's pride in her underground railroad history when he wrote, "the Underground Railroad was but one of the instruments used by the state in her long warfare

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71 Austin Willey, *The History of the Anti-slavery Cause in State and Nation*, Portland, Maine, 1886, 63.

72 *Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia*, 58.

73 *Ibid.*, 23.

74 Emma J. Scott, *The Underground Railroad.* Prepared for Woodford County (Illinois) Historical Society and read at the Society's Annual Picnic, August 30, 1934.

75 William Rusler, ed., *A Standard History of Allen County, Ohio*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1921, I, 340.

76 *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin*, Chicago, 1882, 354.

77 C. B. Galbreath, "Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County," in *Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, XXX (October, 1921), 387.

against slavery, a warfare so aggressive as to distinguish her above all of her sister commonwealths."[78]

The post-war popularity of the underground railroad was amply demonstrated by the writers who made political capital of it. One partisan historian reminded his readers that "but for the Republican party, our own free soil would still be hunting ground for the harassed fugitives from slavery. This very ground would be cursed with the tread of hunters for human chattels. Such is what the Democratic party would have made our whole country to this day and forever."[79] The same writer reluctantly admitted that some who were Democrats until "the Democratic party fired on the old flag at Sumter," had also aided in the underground railroad work. He noted with satisfaction, however, that these individuals had repented of their political past and stated: "I do not know a man from whom we ever received aid and comfort in this enterprise, who is now in that party."[80] A milder author with similar political views told of a slave who received aid from a "pro-slavery Democrat, [who] notwithstanding his politics" was a "soul of honor, and possessed a great and generous heart."[81] The Republican party did not have a monopoly on underground railroad writers. Another historian with definite political convictions carefully pointed out that in one of his experiences a load of fugitives was "carried to Canada concealed in the hold of a sailing vessel by a lake captain, then and now a robust Democrat in politics, a man with a conscience and a heart."[82]

The post-war political uses of the underground railroad stories attest to their widespread popularity and acceptance. Another indication of their popular appeal was the use made of this literature by James Williams, an itinerant California book pedler who went from town to town towards the end of the nineteenth century selling his story of underground railroad escape. The semi-literate Williams titled his booklet *The Life and Adventures of James Williams a Fugitive Slave with a Full Description of the Underground Railroad.* The book, which went into at least five editions, sold

78 Edward R. Turner, "The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVI* (July, 1912), 318.

79 Pettit, *Sketches*, 174.

80 *Ibid.*, 64.

81 Frank H. Severance, *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier*, Buffalo, New York, 1899, 257.

82 Paden, "Underground Railroad Reminiscences," in *The Firelands Pioneer*, New Series, V, 22.

for fifty cents and contained comments on issues of the day ranging from Mormonism to a defense of the Chinese immigrants, all equally unintelligible. The readable sections of Williams' work recounted old stories of the underground railroad. These the author lifted verbatim from the book by William Still, and interspersed them with his own confused comments.[83]

Whether underground railroad writers told their tales to recall the days of heroic deeds, to lend aid to the political party of their preference, or merely to sell a book, all used material of an unreliable nature. The combination of dimmed memories, partial sources, and partisan motives mingled truth and fiction in these accounts. Because of the often repeated underground railroad story, written from the abolitionist vantage point, historians have exaggerated this phase of the drama and have given little attention to the story of the fugitives' self-help and mutual aid in their heroic struggle for freedom. The wealth of underground railroad literature gives clear title to its importance, but the institution was far more important as a propaganda device than as an aid to the fleeing slaves. One abolitionist writer with a less exalted view of the underground railroad wrote, "it is said by the poet that 'distance lends enchantment to the view;' and in regard to the escape of fugitive slaves by what was called the 'Underground Railroad,' I am convinced that the number passing over this line has been greatly magnified in the long period of time since this road ceased to run its always irregular trains."[84]

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[83] James Williams, *Life and Adventures of James Williams, a Fugitive Slave with a Full Description of the Underground Railroad,* Fifth Edition, Philadelphia, 1893, *passim.*

[84] Rush R. Sloane, "The Underground Railroad of the Firelands," in *The Firelands Pioneer,* New Series, V (July, 1888), 28.

The Missouri Radicals and the Re-election of Lincoln

When the fundamental issue which had divided Missourians in 1861, union or secession, was settled politically with the inauguration of a provisional government headed by Hamilton R. Gamble,[1] various shades of opinion among Union men began to be asserted. Three months later, November 2, 1861, President Lincoln furnished the occasion for the division of Union men into Radicals and Conservatives when he removed John C. Frémont from his command of the Department of the West.[2] Although the emancipation of slaves was the most dramatic aspect of the differences between Radicals and Conservatives, it was only one part of a more fundamental rivalry. The former, eager for political power, shifted rapidly from one objective to another in the direction of what they conceived to be progress; while the Conservatives, zealously guarding their power and patronage, moved hesitantly and reluctantly from the *status quo ante* Camp Jackson.

The national administration, which had to consider the over-all effects of its policies, moved too slowly to meet the approval of the Radical Union men in Missouri. President Lincoln had not only removed Frémont and thereby incurred the wrath of the Germans,[3] but he had also ignored Radical insistence that slavery was the cause of the "crime" of secession and should be abolished. He had failed to take any steps beyond his compensated emancipation proposal to encourage abolition in the border states and the Emancipation Proclamation. The President had refused to withdraw administration support and patronage from the Conservative Provisional Government in Missouri and had resisted Radical pressure to dismiss Montgomery Blair and Edward Bates from his cabinet. More-

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[1] Hamilton R. Gamble was a distinguished St. Louis lawyer and former judge on the Missouri Supreme Court. He was chosen Provisional Governor by a state convention originally called by Governor Claiborn F. Jackson, who joined the Confederacy. Gamble held the office from July 31, 1861, until his death on January 31, 1864. See John F. Phillips, "Hamilton R. Gamble and the Provisional Government of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, V (October, 1910), 1–14.

[2] Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians; Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements*, 5 vols., Chicago, 1943, I, 921.

[3] Thomas J. McCormack, editor, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner 1809–1896*, 2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1909, II, 162, 189–190.

over, the President's amnesty proclamation of December 8, 1863, was attacked vigorously by the Missouri Radicals, who could not understand why those who had tried to destroy the Union should be allowed, by simply taking an oath, to share civil privileges with men who had always been loyal.[4]

Lincoln's refusal to accede to the demands of the Missouri Radicals earned their opposition to his renomination for the presidency in 1864. Most of the leaders, however, believed it would be unwise to present intransigent hostility. They feared that Lincoln had enough patronage at his command and enjoyed sufficient popularity to thwart any plan to discard him for another candidate. When early in 1864 legislatures and conventions in one state after another endorsed the administration,[5] the Radicals branded the movement as a sharp and dishonest scheme by federal officeholders to commit state political leaders to Lincoln.[6] However, if the Missourians appeared too adamant in their opposition and Lincoln were nominated and elected despite them, federal patronage would continue to flow into the hands of their opponents. On the other hand, Radical leaders in Missouri could not advocate his renomination because many in the party were decidedly opposed to him, and the others hoped that if Lincoln could not be stopped, at least he could be forced to adopt Radical principles.

The attitude of the Missouri Radical politicians was clearly demonstrated several times during the early months of 1864. On January 26, a Conservative member of the House of Representatives tried to force the Radical Representatives to declare for or against Lincoln when he moved the suspension of the rules in order to bring to the House floor a concurrent resolution declaring in favor of Lincoln's re-election.[7] When more than a score of Radical members absented themselves and thus refused to vote, the Chicago *Journal* chided them for dodging the issue. Whereupon the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat,* chief Radical organ in the state, asked, "Are there no genuine party members of the Union party except such as take off their hats and swear that Mr. Lincoln must be

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[4] Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians,* I, 929–931; *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* (St. Louis), February 29, 1864.

[5] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History,* 10 vols., New York, 1890, IX, 52–56.

[6] *Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), February 3, 1864.

[7] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri at the Adjourned Session of the Twenty-Second General Assembly,* Jefferson City, 1864, 357.

the next President in preference to any other man?"[8] Again, on February 13, the House of Representatives failed to endorse either the national administration or Lincoln's renomination, with the Radicals refusing to become a party to what the *Democrat* called "the forcing and forestalling process agreed upon by the Blairs, Weeds, Simeon Draper & Co."[9]

Radical newspapers printed scarcely a word in praise of Lincoln during the first three months of 1864, but neither did many say anything which could have been interpreted as implacable opposition to his candidacy. In February, the Kansas City *Western Journal of Commerce* observed that the Radicals would insist on the nomination of Frémont,[10] while the *Democrat* in St. Louis reprinted editorials critical of Lincoln from the Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Tribune*.[11] Articles appeared from time to time commending with studied impartiality Frémont, Benjamin F. Butler, Salmon P. Chase, and several other prominent men. Editor John F. Hume of the *Missouri Democrat,* after stating flatly that Lincoln could not get the German vote if he were nominated, seemed to muse:

> We know of no reason why General Frémont would not make a most excellent and acceptable President. . . . But while such is the case we cannot say that General Frémont is our preference among all the persons mentioned for the Presidency. Other names have strong recommendations and numerous friends. Prominent among these are General Butler and Secretary Chase. . . . No man of the present comes nearer to our idea of what Jackson would be, if living, than Benjamin F. Butler. In favor of Chase it can with justice be urged that he has done more for the successful prosecution of the war against the rebellion than any other connected with the Government. . . .
>
> So far as the man is concerned . . . we are not yet prepared to say that we shall be either for this one or that one, but this we will say: *that whomsoever we may support he must come up to the standard of our principles.*[12]

On January 15, a group of Missouri Radicals issued a call for a Slave States Freedom Convention to meet in Louisville, Kentucky, on Washington's birthday anniversary. Some forty delegates from Missouri attended along with representatives from Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The ostensible purpose was to encour-

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8 *Daily Missouri Democrat* February 8, 1864.

9 *House Journal, Adjourned Session, Twenty-Second General Assembly,* 564–565; Daily Missouri Democrat, February 15, 1864.

10 *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City), February 13, 1864.

11 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* February 17, February 29, 1864.

12 *Daily Missouri Democrat,* March 4, 1864.

age emancipation sentiment in the border slave states, particularly in Kentucky where considerable opposition existed to tampering with slavery.[13] However, some of the anti-Lincoln men wished to use the occasion to boost Secretary Chase's presidential aspirations, while other Radicals hoped to develop greater support for Frémont. A spirited quarrel arose among the Missouri delegates as to whether or not they should take a stand on presidential possibilities. Charles E. Moss, publisher of the Springfield *Missouri Patriot,* urged that the Radicals should take the lead in selecting the next President. This met with the firm disapproval of Charles D. Drake of St. Louis, who was becoming the foremost Radical spokesman in the state, and who was working closely with the editor of the *Missouri Democrat.* Drake contended that such a step would be premature. He professed to believe that the Radicals should go to the National Union convention and there exert their influence toward obtaining a satisfactory nominee, presumably not Lincoln.[14] To this Moss retorted that he would go into no convention with such "half-way men" as William H. Seward, Montgomery Blair, and Edward Bates.[15]

Although few of the delegates to the Freedom Convention favored Lincoln's renomination, little enthusiasm could be aroused for Chase, despite the famous "Pomeroy Circular" which was distributed on the first day.[16] Frémont and Butler also had their partisans among the Radicals, while other delegates were unwilling to make any commitments. Drake and James Speed, Lincoln's Kentucky adviser who was later to succeed Edward Bates as Attorney General, took a decided stand on the convention floor against the Frémont men, many of whom were St. Louis Germans.[17] The result was that all attempts to get the convention to endorse any individual for President were unsuccessful. Two weeks later, Chase withdrew his name from consideration, but Frémont remained a presidential hopeful.[18]

Amidst the discussion of personalities the convention turned to the consideration of the main purpose for which the delegates

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13 E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky,* Chapel Hill, 1926, 179–180.

14 Drake had received national recognition in the fall of 1863 as the leader of the famous "Committee of Seventy," which tried in vain to force Lincoln to accede to the demands of the Missouri Radicals.

15 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* February 26, 1864.

16 *Daily Missouri Democrat,* February 24, 1864.

17 Charles D. Drake, "Autobiography of Charles D. Drake," MS., State Historical Society of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri, 951.

18 *Daily Missouri Democrat,* February 24, 1864; See also, Thomas Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals,* Madison, 1941, 310–312.

had been called together. On the evening of the first day, Drake spoke on the necessity of destroying slavery to insure the safety of the Union.[19] His speech, as well as his actions at the convention, indicated that he wished to lead the Missouri Radicals into possible cooperation with the National Union party, and at the same time force the national party along lines that would meet the approval of the Radicals. He made no bitter attack on the Lincoln administration, but confined himself to observing that Lincoln "came short of the stern demands of the tremendous exigency he strove to meet." The President had erred, said Drake, when in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation he had dealt with slaves instead of with "the institution of slavery, as the rebellion's source of strength." He spoke of the conflict in Missouri over the question of emancipation and saw the destruction of slavery as the common purpose of Radicals everywhere:

> Friends of freedom! Is it possible to confine that conflict within the borders of Missouri? Are there no Radicals in the nation but those that have sprung from her sufferings and wrongs? Look around you here in Kentucky, and see that the conflict does extend elsewhere than in Missouri; and sound the depths of your own hearts and learn that there are Radicals besides those in Missouri.

One month later, the Radical Union Executive Committee of Missouri met in St. Louis to issue a call for a state convention to be held in Jefferson City on May 25 "to nominate candidates and transact other business."[20] The call did not mention any purpose of sending delegates to the National Union convention which was to meet in Baltimore on June 7. Indeed, the committee voted down a proposition to insert the words "and elect delegates to the Baltimore convention" in the party call. Probably several members of the committee who hoped the convention would send delegates to Baltimore voted against the proposal because they feared its adoption would cause a pre-convention split in the Radical ranks. Some of the more vociferous Radicals had flatly asserted that they would have nothing to do with a Union convention whose call had not been signed by even one "pure and unadulterated Radical."[21] Moreover, the *Missouri Democrat* continued to echo the complaint of eastern anti-Lincoln papers that the date set for the National Union convention was too early. If the members of the national commit-

[19] Charles D. Drake, *Union and Anti-Slavery Speeches Delivered During the Rebellion,* Cincinnati, 1864, 403–431.
[20] *Daily Missouri Democrat,* March 25, 1864,
[21] *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 25, 1864.

tee were patriots as well as politicians, the editor stormed, they would postpone the convention until after the summer military campaigns. Subjecting the country to the turmoil of a political campaign of five months was "practical disloyalty."[22] By the middle of April, however, the Radical leaders were forced by events to advocate that the Missouri Radical party send delegates to Baltimore, even if the renomination of Lincoln were a virtual certainty.

During January and February, 1864, the Conservatives had been forming Lincoln Clubs in various parts of the state. On April 11, the Lincoln Club of St. Louis sent out a call for a Conservative party convention to meet in that city on May 18 to select delegates to the National convention.[23] A few days later, the Radical St. Joseph *Morning Herald* observed that the mass of Union men were for Lincoln and that he would undoubtedly be the nominee at Baltimore.[24] The apparent growth of Lincoln's popularity, together with the move by the Conservatives to send delegates to Baltimore, made it perfectly plain to the more perspicacious Radical politicians that if the Radical Union party was to become the majority party in the state, it would have to challenge the Conservative delegation at Baltimore. A Radical political victory in November depended upon the development of a contest between two parties within the state: a united Radical Union party that had the support of the national administration and the opposition which did not. The Radicals could not afford to lose by default the opportunity to identify their party with the National Union party.

On the other hand, an obvious danger of Radical cooperation with the National Union party was that a significantly large number of Radicals who were determined to defeat Lincoln might break away and form a splinter party. These ultra-Radicals, most of them Frémont enthusiasts, had to be handled gently and with finesse if the defection within the Radical ranks was to be kept small. Consequently, on the day the Conservative call was published, the *Missouri Democrat* advised the Radicals to send a delegation to Baltimore, but added, "Whether the Radicals should bind themselves to the action of the Baltimore convention is a question which will be determined solely by what the character of that convention proves to be."[25]

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22 *Daily Missouri Democrat*, April 27, 1864.
23 *Ibid.*, April 15, 1864.
24 *Morning Herald* (St. Joseph), April 20, 1864.
25 *Daily Missouri Democrat*, April 11, 1864.

When the Conservative party, which now called itself the Unconditional Union party, held its convention in St. Louis, only about one hundred men, most of whom were office-holders in the Provisional Government or the recipients of federal patronage, were in attendance. The Conservatives unanimously resolved to ignore all past party attachments and to support the Union until the South was defeated. The convention recognized in Lincoln an "ardent patriot and wise statesman," and instructed its delegates to the National Union convention to vote for his renomination. A state central committee was chosen and directed to call another convention at some future time to nominate candidates for state offices.[26]

Meanwhile, mass meetings of Radical Union men were held in the various counties to choose delegates to the convention in Jefferson City. A few of the county meetings declared for Lincoln, others for Frémont, but most of them were silent about presidential preferences. As the date for the convention approached, the danger increased that the ultra-Radicals would bolt if delegates were chosen to participate in the National Union convention. Therefore, the leaders planned to avoid commitment to any presidential candidate, to continue to express disapproval of Lincoln's administration, and, after the proceedings were under way, to press for the adoption of a resolution to send delegates to Baltimore as a means of defeating Lincoln's renomination. Chauncey I. Filley of St. Louis, chairman of the committee on organization and order of business, recalled that the first report of his committee made no mention of choosing delegates to Baltimore. When that proposal was made in a supplementary report and adopted by a vote of 341 to 99, Emil Pretorius, St. Louis editor and German politician, led a delegation of ultra-Radicals off the convention floor. However, most of them returned to their seats still protesting the action of the convention, but mollified somewhat by the prospect of writing an ultra-Radical, anti-Lincoln platform.[27]

The platform was indeed such that even the most ultra-Radical delegates could have no cause to complain. It declared that slavery must be abolished and rebels constitutionally disfranchised; the President's amnesty proclamation was attacked; Lincoln's policy toward the French in Mexico was criticized; his maintenance of Blair and Bates in his cabinet was deplored as weakening the unity

[26] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1864; *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 27, 1864.
[27] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 27, 1864; C. I. Filley to Stella M. Drumm, 1914, Chauncey I. Filley Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

and the efficiency of the administration; a protest was entered against the delegation of power by the national government to a provisional state organization; and the policy of "forcing a political agitation on the country . . . at an earlier hour than the exigency of the case renders absolutely necessary" was deprecated. An even more direct expression of opposition to Lincoln was that plank in the platform which stated: "We approve of the one term principle for the Presidency of the United States, and pledge ourselves to use our best endeavors for its maintenance."[28]

The St. Joseph *Morning Herald* in commenting upon the platform noted that the plank pledging to maintain the one term principle was a very singular resolution because:

> The convention which adopted it also agreed with great unanimity to send delegates to the Baltimore convention, where it is as certain that Abraham Lincoln will be nominated as that the sun will pursue its course in the heavens. Do these men who pledge themselves to use their best endeavors for the maintenance of the one term principle expect to stand by the Baltimore nomination?[29]

The unity for which the *Democrat* was pleading was further endangered when a large delegation from Missouri attended a mass convention of Radicals in Cleveland a few days before the Baltimore convention opened. The Radical organ in St. Louis could do little more under the circumstances than to treat the Cleveland meeting as though it were an affair in which Missourians were only remotely interested. But the Radical newspapers in western Missouri were less reticent. The *Morning Herald* said it was "one of the most unwise political moves on the board," and that at bottom the delegates were ambitious, disappointed office-seekers determined to defeat Lincoln.[30] The *Western Journal of Commerce* in Kansas City commented:

> Without waiting to see what the action of the Baltimore convention would be, without making an honest, earnest effort to see if the division in the Union ranks could not be avoided, the Cleveland Convention has hastily and rashly taken a position . . . which is calculated to distract the Union vote. . . .[31]

Some four hundred delegates representing almost every shade of opposition to Lincoln gathered in Cleveland. War Democrats

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[28] *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* May 30, 1864. The "one term principle" was set forth by most anti-Lincoln groups. It was based on the fact that no President since Jackson had held office more than one term.

[29] *Morning Herald,* May 31, 1864.

[30] *Ibid.,* June 7, 1864.

[31] *Western Journal of Commerce* (Kansas City), June 4, 1864.

from New York joined ultra-Radical delegates from twelve states, with Missouri and Illinois well represented. The convention quickly drafted a platform which declared that the rebellion had destroyed slavery, and demanded a constitutional amendment which would guarantee civil equality to all persons. Other planks in the platform demanded a congressional reconstruction that would protect the rights of freedom; advocated a single term for the presidency; proposed the direct election of President and of Vice-President; insisted that free speech, free press, and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* be held inviolate except in districts where martial law was proclaimed; and demanded the confiscation of lands belonging to Confederates and its distribution among soldiers and actual settlers. Some of the Grant men from New York, led by John Cochrane, seeing that the Frémont enthusiasts controlled the convention, wished to postpone the selection of a presidential candidate until after the Baltimore convention had acted. The move was voted down, however, and Moss of Missouri moved the nomination of Frémont by acclamation. After Moss' motion carried and Frémont was nominated, the convention chose Cochrane as candidate for Vice-President as a conciliatory gesture toward the New York delegation.[32]

Meanwhile, two sets of delegates from Missouri were on their way to the National Union convention, one representing the Conservatives and the other, led by John F. Hume, with credentials from the Radical Union party. Members of both groups stopped at Washington on their way to Baltimore to speak with the President.[33] According to Hume's account, the Radicals told Lincoln that his best friends, as well as practically all Republicans in Missouri, were Radicals. Lincoln, who assumed a hands-off attitude when he talked with members of the various delegations,[34] countered with a story of an old man who was looking for a stray sow and pigs. Although the farmer saw tracks and evidence of rooting on both sides of a creek, he could find no pigs. "Confound those swine!" exclaimed the old man, "They root and root on both sides, but it's mighty hard to find them on either."[35]

The circumstances under which the Radical state convention had agreed to send delegates to Baltimore required that their con-

[32] *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, June 6, 1864; See also, Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals*, 314–315.

[33] Beale, editor, *The Diary of Edward Bates*, American Historical Association *Annual Report, 1930*, IV, 373; John F. Hume, *The Abolitionists*, New York, 1905, 169.

[34] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 62.

[35] Hume, *The Abolitionists*, 170.

duct be such as to avoid any impression that they were wooing Lincoln in order to be seated. Accordingly, the Missouri Radicals distributed a pamphlet stating the reasons why they should be admitted to the convention and the Conservative delegation excluded. They asserted that the Radical Union party was organized regularly with a state executive committee chosen by a Radical convention, while its opponents were unorganized. After a vicious attack was made on the personnel of the Conservative delegation, the Radicals set forth the terms upon which they would agree to enter the convention. These included planks in the platform advocating the destruction of slavery, upholding the Monroe Doctrine, and demanding the reorganization of the President's cabinet. Nothing was said about the one term principle for which the delegates were pledged to use their best endeavors to maintain. The Radicals stated emphatically that they would not agree, as was suggested, that both Missouri delegations be seated and the twenty-two votes of Missouri divided between them.[36]

Despite the general knowledge among the Lincoln delegations at Baltimore that the Missouri Radicals would oppose the President's renomination, the Radical delegation was seated and the Conservatives excluded in a short decisive contest on the convention floor. By a vote of 440 to 4 the convention adopted the majority report of its committee on credentials which had recommended, presumably on Lincoln's advice,[37] that the Radical Union delegation be seated. Both Bates and Hume thought this action revealed anti-Lincoln sentiment among the delegates.[38] But since many men pledged to Lincoln, especially those from the Northwest and from Maryland, disliked the Blair influence in the administration almost as much as did the Missouri Radicals, the exclusion of the Conservatives may have been more accurately described as an expression of anti-Blair sentiment in the convention.[39]

Be that as it may, seating the Missouri Radicals was a wise move on the part of the Lincoln forces. The Missourians could not endanger Lincoln's renomination, while attempts to exclude them

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[36] *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, June 22, 1864.

[37] Clark E. Carr, "Why Lincoln Was Not Renominated by Acclamation," *The Century Magazine*, LXXIII (February, 1907), 505.

[38] Hume, *The Abolitionists*, 176–177; Beale, editor, *The Diary of Edward Bates*, American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1930, IV, 374.

[39] Allan Nevins, *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West*, New York, 1939, 576; William Ernest Smith, *The Francis Blair Family in Politics*, 2 vols., New York, 1933, II, 266.

might well have started a fight on the convention floor over Lincoln's policies and advisers.[40] Moreover, the death of Provisional Governor Gamble in January, 1864, had left the Conservatives in Missouri without a strong leader or an effective state-wide organization. Without Gamble it was questionable whether the Conservatives, even with administration support, could have delivered the state to Lincoln in November in the face of united Radical opposition. Had the Radicals been denied seats at Baltimore, they would likely have joined the ranks of those who were ready to campaign for Frémont.

Although Lincoln may have needed to appease the Radicals in order to try to maintain harmony within the Union party, the Missouri delegation was in no position to act as independently as the *Missouri Democrat* tried to make it appear. The fact was that the Radical delegates were more than willing to compromise with the Lincoln men by promising to support the President in the campaign, provided the platform contained some of the Jefferson City planks. John Nicolay wrote to John Hay the day before the convention opened that the Missouri Radicals were eager to bargain. Nicolay said that B. G. Cook, chairman of the Illinois delegation, had remarked that the Missouri Radicals had intimated that "they would even promise to vote for Lincoln in the convention for a promise of an admission to seats."[41] Probably Nicolay and Cook had reason to know that the Radicals, once they were admitted, would support the nominee of the convention.

The platform adopted at the National Union convention did contain planks pleasing to the Radicals. It advocated the abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment. It called attention to the desirability of upholding the Monroe Doctrine, but did not censure the President's policy toward the French in Mexico as the Radicals wished. One plank which brought joy to the hearts of the Radicals struck at Lincoln's conservative advisers, Blair and Bates.[42]

When the roll of the states was called in the balloting for the nomination of a candidate for President, Lincoln received all of the votes until Missouri was called. Missouri cast its twenty-two votes for General Grant. Frantic efforts were made by the members of other delegations to persuade Missouri to change her

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[40] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 68.

[41] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, editors, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 12 vols., Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, [c 1894], X, 114–115.

[42] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 5, 1864.

vote before the call of the states was completed. Hume, chairman of the delegation, replied that Missouri could not change her vote. He moved, however, that Lincoln's nomination be made unanimous, but the motion was ruled to be out of order until after the vote was determined. After the balloting had been completed and the result showed only Missouri out of the Lincoln column, the Missouri delegation changed its vote and thus made the nomination unanimous.[43]

The tactics of the Missourians can be understood only in the light of the political situation at home. Bates recorded in his diary that the delegation had falsely said it was instructed to vote for Grant.[44] The delegation was not pledged to Grant, nor did Hume say that it was. The error probably arose from a misunderstanding of Hume's reply to those who were beseeching him to change Missouri's vote before the roll call was completed, namely, that the delegation was obeying its instructions. Hume was referring to the one term principle, which the Missouri delegates were pledged to use their best endeavors to maintain, not to the vote for Grant.[45] The final result of the balloting showed that the Missouri delegation had not voted for Lincoln. The Missourians made the nomination unanimous, but only after they had succeeded in making an anti-Lincoln gesture for the record. This relieved them of any charge by the ultra-Radicals that they had agreed to support Lincoln's renomination as the price of admission to the convention, and that the adoption of an anti-Lincoln platform at Jefferson City was a sham performance.

Most of the Radical newspapers in Missouri put the names of Lincoln and Andrew Johnson at their mastheads. The St. Joseph *Tribune,* which had fought Lincoln before Baltimore, shouting, "Mr. Lincoln will not be our next President!" now hoisted Lincoln's name as the "Radical" candidate for President.[46] The *Missouri*

[43] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1864; *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican,* June 13, 1864; Chauncey I. Filley, *Some Republican History of Missouri,* St. Louis, 1898, 42.

[44] Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* American Historical Association *Annual Report, 1930,* IV, 374–375.

[45] In the account of the convention proceedings published in the *Daily Missouri Democrat,* June 13, 1864, Hume did not say that the delegation was pledged to Grant. He was quoted as saying: "Missouri's vote, Mr. President, was given under instructions, and therefore I can not change it."

Chauncey I. Filley, one of the Missouri delegates, stated that the delegation itself chose to vote for Grant. C. I. Filley to Stella M. Drumm, 1914, Chauncey I. Filley Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

[46] Quoted in *Morning Herald* (St. Joseph), June 14, 1864.

Democrat referred to the National "Radical" convention instead of the National "Union" convention.[47] Much was made of the claim that the Radicals had demanded and received admittance to the convention on their own terms. "They refused to enter except upon a platform of their own making," exulted the *Democrat*.[48] There was great rejoicing over the exclusion of the Conservation delegation.

Few of the ultra-Radicals, however, were willing to discard Frémont for Lincoln. They attacked the Lincoln Radicals for "kotowing" to the administration and for failing to carry out in full measure the Jefferson City platform. What about the one term principle? Where was the Baltimore censure of Lincoln's policy in regard to Mexico? These and other questions were asked by the anti-Lincoln man as they asserted that the Radicals at Baltimore had sold out for the promise of federal patronage.[49]

The *Missouri Democrat* attempted to counter the attack with the assertion that the Baltimore platform contained more thoroughgoing Radical principles than the platform adopted at Cleveland. Hume quoted that part of the Cleveland platform which stated that slavery had been destroyed. "Was there ever such a surrender of a strong party position?" he asked, as he remained silent about the plank demanding equality for all.[50] The editor admitted that the Baltimore platform "might have added one or two planks and made some of those laid down still heavier or fastened them more firmly," but declared that the principles of the Radical party was substantially all there. "If the formulas are not perfect," asserted Hume, "something can well be conceded for unity and success."[51] The *Democrat,* the editor continued, would not support Lincoln on a Conservative platform. "Mr. Lincoln's letter of acceptance," Hume wrote, "is not yet presented to the public. Unless he places himself fully and squarely, evidently in good faith, upon the National Radical platform, the members of the party nominating him will be under no obligation to support him."[52] The editor knew, of course, that Lincoln was not likely to repudiate outright any plank in the platform, for that would have unnecessarily widened the rift within the party which the platform was designed to close.

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47 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* June 13, 1864.
48 *Ibid.,* June 15, 1864.
49 Press attacks on the work of the National Union convention were quoted in the *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican,* June 13, 1864.
50 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* June 17, 1864.
51 *Ibid.,* June 13, 1864.
52 *Ibid.*

The split in the Radical Union party of Missouri would not prove to be too dangerous, the leaders of both factions believed, as long as no strong Conservative movement developed, and if the Frémont enthusiasts and the Lincoln men did not allow their differences to extend into the campaign for state and congressional offices. "Don't let the friends of Lincoln and the friends of Frémont fall out and denounce each other," cautioned the *Democrat.* "Let them all act together for the State ticket, carry it through triumphantly, and thus put down 'copperhead democracy' and Jeff Davis rebelry [sic] in Missouri."[53] It set an example for other Radical papers by supporting Henry T. Blow, ultra-Radical candidate for Congress, and Francis Rodman, Frémont editor of the St. Joseph *Westliche Volksblatt,* for Secretary of State. Thomas C. Fletcher, the Radical gubernatorial candidate, did his part by successfully maintaining a discreet silence, despite a great deal of jockeying by both Lincoln and Frémonters to force him to declare his preference.[54]

The Conservatives, who met in St. Louis on June 15 as a "Democratic" convention, were doing all they could to stir up trouble among the Radicals so as to break up the Radical plan of divorcing the national ticket from the state and congressional campaigns. They delayed putting candidates in the field in order that the Radicals would have no one to fight but each other. It was not until after they helped to choose General George B. McClellan as a candidate for President that the "Democrats" selected candidates for state offices.[55]

The plan of the Radicals to agree to disagree in the presidential campaign seemed to be succeeding, but the danger of the split becoming deeper was always present. On June 27, a large Frémont rally was held in St. Louis. Music, parades, and public speaking furnished the entertainment for an enthusiastic crowd. Huge banners gave notice of the anti-Lincoln feeling and registered disgust with the course pursued by the *Missouri Democrat* by asking and answering questions, such as: "Who beat the Radicals in the last election? The President!" "O, Father Abraham! Hast thou nothing in store for us? But don't give us a story—*Missouri Democrat.*" Pretorious spoke to the crowd in German and English; Mayor James S. Thomas declared he favored Frémont; C. P. Johnson, a Radical

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53 *Ibid.,* June 17, 1864.

54 Fletcher did not announce that he would support Lincoln until long after Frémont's withdrawal. On October 29 said he preferred Lincoln to McClellan, but that Lincoln had not been his choice for President. *Daily Missouri Democrat,* October 31, 1864.

55 Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians,* I, 934.

congressional candidate, spoke for Frémont; Moss attacked Lincoln and the *Democrat,* and then read a letter from Blow advising the Radicals to stand by Frémont and the state ticket.[56] All of the speakers at the rally endorsed Blow's advice. On his part, the editor of the *Democrat* could not refrain from rapping the ultra-Radical campaign by calling it a purely personal movement for Frémont. He criticized the attacks on Lincoln with the comment that no banners in the Frémont parade denounced Jefferson Davis.[57] Hume evidently overlooked the fact that Davis was not a candidate for President of the United States.

Drake, who did not take an active part in the campaign in Missouri,[58] recalled that the months of July and August were comparatively quiet because "no one then could have addressed the people in favor of either Lincoln or Frémont without the risk of offending the friends of the other, who might thereby be alienated from support of the State ticket."[59] Moreover, the national political picture was such that Lincoln men had to move cautiously during those months. The tide of war had turned against the North with thousands of lives being sacrificed in Virginia. Confederate raiders had camped within ten miles of Washington. The treasury was empty, with the national debt standing at more than one-half billion dollars. United States Treasury Notes fell to forty cents on the dollar. Lincoln had to bear the brunt of the resulting popular dissatisfaction. Furthermore, the quarrel between the President and the Congress over reconstruction in those areas of the South wrested from the Confederacy was placed on exhibition by the Wade-Davis Manifesto. Under these circumstances the Frémont movement took on added significance as a tool for dissident Union men to use in an effort to discard Lincoln.[60]

The danger that the division between the ultra-Radicals and the Radicals might become deeper was materially lessened, if not entirely erased, by Frémont's withdrawal from the presidential contest on September 22 and Lincoln's acceptance of Montgomery Blair's resignation the next day. "It is needless to say," rejoiced the

56 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), June 27, 1864.
57 *Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), June 27, 1864.
58 Drake did not attend the National Union convention at Baltimore, as is sometimes asserted. He made no speeches in Missouri during the campaign. The political strategists evidently believed that if Drake assumed a prominent part in the campaign, the task of mitigating the breach within the party would have been more difficult. He was a state elector pledged to Lincoln. Drake, "Autobiography," MS., 1004–1005.
59 *Ibid.,* 1006.
60 Smith, *The Blair Family,* II, 271–279; Nevins, *Frémont,* 576; James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction,* New York, 1937, 618–620.

Western Journal of Commerce, "that this action of General Frémont removed the only real stumbling block which lay in the path of success to the Union party."[61] The New York *Tribune* said Frémont's withdrawal assured "even the vote of Missouri to Lincoln and Johnson."[62]

The question of whether Lincoln made a bargain with Frémont was of no concern to Missourians. Lincoln's dismissal of Blair was a strategic move in the national political picture, of which the situation in Missouri was only a part. Nevertheless, his action was hailed as a vindication of the course that the Missouri Radicals had followed at Baltimore, where at their instance the anti-Blair resolution was written into the platform. With Frémont out of the campaign, the ultra-Radicals had no real choice but to vote for Lincoln. The result was a sweeping victory for the Radicals, who not only carried the state for Lincoln and Fletcher, but also elected eight of the nine United States Representatives from Missouri and secured control of both houses in the General Assembly.[63]

An editorial in the *Missouri Democrat* reviewed briefly and pungently the delicate political situation in Missouri during the presidential campaigning that had just passed:

> Before winning it [the election], the Radical party of Missouri had to pass through a most imminent peril, and but for the resolute handling of some of its pilots, would have suffered inevitable shipwreck. The danger grew out of the Presidential question, which at one time seriously threatened its destruction. There were those in its ranks who were desirous of separating it from the great Union party of the nation—who, in fact, wanted to convert it into a national organization, going entirely beyond the original and appropriate sphere of its operations. Had they been successful, the Radicals of Missouri, in the canvass just concluded, would have been cut loose from the sympathies of the Union and free soil measures of the country—would have encountered the opposition of the national Administration—could not have been otherwise than divided at home, and must have been reduced to a hopeless minority to suffer a defeat which would greatly have strengthened, had it not permanently reestablished, slavery.[64]

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61 *Western Journal of Commerce,* October 1, 1864.

62 *New York Daily Tribune,* September 23, 1864.

63 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* December 9, 1864; Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians,* I, 934–936. The importance of the Radical strategy in presenting a united front in support of the state and congressional candidates was illustrated in the one congressional district where the Radicals divided, after Frémont's withdrawal, and allowed a Democrat, John Hogan, to be elected.

64 *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat,* November 16, 1864.

Early Variety Theatres in the Trans-Mississippi West

From the earliest days variety entertainment was an integral part of the American theatre.[1] Like many aspects of our drama it had its origins in England. In this country it was most often manifested by songs and dances presented between two plays on one program. But the variety house with which this paper is concerned was a product of the trans-Mississippi West. Unlike the respectable variety theatres where wholesome entertainment was offered, these western variety houses followed the mining frontiers and catered almost entirely to men. Some of the former type, well established in the west by the late sixties,[2] became less respectable and dropped into the category of theatres hereinafter to be described. Some of the latter, beginning as crude houses, went on to win recognition as places of amusement where the 'best' people might be seen.

The variety house of the "Old West" was the theatre where miners and gamblers, rustlers and "bad men," as well as travelers from the east, and a large proportion of the local male population, went to be amused. Under the same roof, as a rule, gambling, liquor, and entertainment were offered. There was one entrance for patrons and entertainers alike. Generally the bar on one side

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Note. This paper was in substance read at the April, 1950, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society under the title "Western Entertainment." Editor.

1 The word "variety" was used during the period covered in this paper by regular theatrical troupes presenting legitimate drama. For example, George Holland, manager of Placide's Varieties from New Orleans in the summer of 1851, brought the company to St. Paul, Minnesota, as the first professional company to appear there. See J. Fletcher Williams, "A History of St. Paul and the County of Ramsay, Minnesota," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. IV (1876), 313–314; Henry B. Curry, "Our First Theatre," *Pioneer Press*, August 7, 1910. The St Louis Varieties, managed by John Huntley, (later Sallie St. Claire's Varieties), played in St. Paul in that same year, even combining talent with Placide's *Minnesota Democrat*, June 1, 1853; Frank N. Whiting, "A History of the Theatre in St. Paul, Minnesota, from its Beginnings to 1890," doctrinal dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1941, footnote 22, 30–32; files of *Minnesota Pioneer*, 1851-1853. However, this paper expands upon this type of legitimate variety entertainment.

2 M. B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years of Theatrical Management*, New York, 1912, 148. Leavitt was a manager of variety troupes, and his Rentz Female Minstrels was a well-known attraction.

of the room was separated from the gambling tables on the other, while the elevated stage was at the rear. Above the bar, and sometimes running around three sides of the house, was a gallery divided into curtained boxes where young girls could entertain the customers.[3] These were common factors of the houses, distinguishable from one another by the terms elaborate, tawdry, infamous, orderly, or disorderly. Often there was no admission fee, as the house depended upon the sale of liquor and on gambling for revenue.

Probably no American city ever saw more varied types of amusement than San Francisco when the gold miners flocked in. While more sedate citizens could soon choose their entertainment in theatres springing up all over the city, the adventurous and rugged found relaxation in the Bella Union, prototype of the numerous variety theatres to appear on the various mining frontiers.[4] The Bella Union began as a gambling saloon in the fall of 1849, on the north side of Washington Street near Kearny, facing Portsmouth Plaza. In its early years it had no box-office and at first, no stage. Patrons entered the auditorium, which was provided with chairs, by passing through the saloon, or a long hallway adjoining this, at the end of which sat Madame Tetlow, the wife of the proprietor for the first quarter of a century of its existence. She was stationed here to sell tickets. The first entertainment offered in the Bella Union was minstrelsy, and the first performance of this kind to be given in San Francisco was presented here by the Philadelphia Minstrels on October 22, 1849.[5] It was not until 1856, when gambling was "abolished" in the city that the Bella Union concentrated on entertainment, although from time to time it had offered some amusement other than drinking and gambling.

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[3] Cheyenne State Leader, November 24, 1932. These variety houses are not, of course, to be confused with houses of prostitution.

[4] Robert Glass Cleland, ed., *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856*, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1949, 36. On February 26, 1850, Mrs. Megquier wrote: "We have two theatres," meaning undoubtedly the Bella Union and Rowe's Olympic Circus. The latter, on Kearny Street, between California and Sansome, opened on February 4, 1850, with *Othello*. Rowe had circus performers and actors, and there was bitter jealousy between these; Frank Fenton, "San Francisco Theatre 1849–1859," doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1942, 66–69. The Bella Union continued for almost sixty years until 1893, when a new city ordinance halted the sale of liquor in theatres; Lawrence Estavan, ed., *Theatre Buildings*, (San Francisco Theatre Research, Vol. XVI, Monograph XXVII, Works Projects Administration), San Francisco, 1940, 3; T. A. Barry and B. A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the 'Spring of '50'*, San Francisco, 1873, 45–46. Unfortunately the great fires of the early fifties destroyed many papers and other records of the theatres.

[5] One of the Minstrels was shot and killed and the rest promptly departed for the Sandwich Islands; *Theatre Buildings*, 1.

The first quarter century of the Bella Union's long existence was undoubtedly its best era. Its manager, Samuel Tetlow, while providing what his patrons wanted—gambling, liquor, pretty attendants—maintained a certain dignity, even when murder and suicide were more or less constant visitors in his theatre. On July 12, 1880, the *Figaro,* in the space reserved for advertising by the Bella Union, announced the closing of the house in deference to the funeral ceremonies of the late William Skeantlesbury, a joint proprietor of the theatre. Although the *Figaro* did not say so, Tetlow had shot his partner over a woman. He was acquitted and the *Figaro* of August 13 announced the reopening of the house, but he was never to regain his popularity.[6]

In 1856 the Bella Union had become a melodeon.[7] Melodeons were numerous and took their name from a musical instrument, a small reed organ which could be carried with ease from one place to another. The music it gave forth was by turns merry and melancholy, and subtly adaptable to the saloon. In these melodeons, which were variety theatres, there was usually no dancing, and women were permitted only as performers or as waitresses.[8]. Much later the entertainment became vulgar.

The Bella Union survived the first of the great fires which were to terrorize San Francisco, but was burned in the second one, on May 4, 1850. Rebuilt, it appears to have survived the next four, for after the fire of June 22, 1851, the *Herald* of June 26 remarked: "The Bella Union, Verandah, Custom House, El Dorado and California Exchange have escaped almost unscorched." Ironically, while these not much more than glorified saloon remained, all the better theatres had gone up in flames.

Early performances at the Bella Union are difficult to list because they were not then advertised in newspapers but, if at all, by hand-

[6] The theatre was later managed by Patrick McAtee, then by Ned Foster; *Theatre Buildings,* 6, 11.

[7] This like most melodeons was a 'bit' theatre. Others were the Melodeon, which opened in December, 1857; the Athenaeum; the Gaieties, presided over by Miss Rowena Granice, and advertised in the summer of 1859 in the *California Police Gazette* as the "Temple of Mirth and Song"; the Olympic; the Pacific; Bert's New Idea Melodeon; the Adelphi; and Gilbert's Melodeon. Theodore S. Kenderdine, *A California Tramp and Later Footprints,* Newton, Pa., 1888, 271–277, describes the Gaieties as a small hall with a stage, in front of which was a space about ten yards square where some three hundred males sat at tables, smoking and drinking and yielding an aroma of unbathed bodies. See also S. D. Woods, *Lights and Shadows of Life on the Pacific Coast,* New York and London, 1910, 93; George R. McMinn, *The Theatre of the Golden Era of California,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1941, 63–64.

[8] *San Francisco Bulletin,* August 4, 1917, article by Pauline Jacobson.

bills in the streets. The place was so famous that it really needed no publicity. Failure to pay for newspaper announcements, however, was an essential factor in the moral indignation sometimes expressed by editors. For example the *Dramatic Chronicle* stated: "The Belly [*sic*] Union continues to advertise this paper at the head of their bill in this fashion, 'The Belly Union does not advertise in a paper called the *Dramatic Chronicle.*' As it is a well-known fact that we do not advertise for dens of iniquity, their announcement is simply superfluous."[9] A small outlay for advertising space might have mollified the editor and made such dens of iniquity respectable, but fortunately for American theatrical history they never became so.

In 1868 Tetlow demolished the Bella Union Melodeon and erected the Bella Union Theatre, with the entrance around the corner, on Kearny Street, one door from Washington.[10] The new building opened on December 12, 1868, with an extravaganza entitled *The Sirens, or the Beautiful Lake.*[11] A month before this date the *Figaro,* which apparently had been watching its construction with the deepest interest, published a lengthy and most flattering description of the interior, concluding:

"The curtain has been painted by G. Rogers; the subject is Ariel's song in *The Tempest,* 'Come unto these yellow sands,' and represents the nymphs dancing the waves. . . ."[12]

Ariel may have been on the curtain; but it was Caliban who came to see the show.[13]

Drama and the legitimate theatre played a small part in the early history of the Pacific Northwest, largely because of the difficulty and expense of transportation.[14] The first entertainment of professional importance in Washington Territory[15] was introduced in the saloons and dance halls in the various settlements where there was a demand for recreation for miners and lumbermen. When it became apparent that there was a definite amusement field here, entertainment was taken over by white women, commonly called

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9 *Dramatic Chronicle,* August 10, 1867. Legitimate theatres were long dependent upon the press for popularity. Their failure to advertise could cause papers to print scathing criticism of very good playing.

10 *Theatre Buildings,* 9.

11 *The Morning Call,* December 16, 1868.

12 *The Figaro,* November 14, 1868.

13 *Theatre Buildings,* 10.

14 Howard F. Grant, *The Story of Seattle's Early Theatres,* Seattle, 1934, 19.

15 Now Washington, northern Idaho and western Montana. Idaho became a Territory March 3, 1863, and Montana on May 26, 1864.

'Frisco Lillies,' who began to come into this region in the late fifties.[16] Professional entertainment in such establishments was always secondary to the sale of liquor. The most unique feature of these combination houses in the Northwest was the term by which they were known—box houses. The name was, of course, derived from the fact that there were curtained boxes in the balcony from which patrons could be served drinks by the girls connected with the establishment, and from where they could even watch the show without being observed. There were soon two distinct types of variety entertainment in this area. One was presented at 'respectable' halls and theatres; the other continued to be offered in the box houses and saloons. These latter were seldom given newspapers notice. The Theatre Comique, opened in Seattle in July, 1876, a variety theatre in conjunction with a saloon, was one of the first box houses to advertise as a place of entertainment.[17]

Beginning in the late fifties a rapid extension of gold mining occurred in the Rocky Mountain region from Arizona and New Mexico on the south to Washington and Montana, and as far east as the Black Hills of Dakota. Colors had first been struck at Dry Creek and Cherry Creek in present Colorado. Gold found at the confluence of Cherry Creek and the South Platte River led to the establishment of the camps of Montana, Highland, Auraria and St. Charles, which soon combined to form Denver City.[18] The customary parasites attached themselves to the miners, gamblers, confidence men, thieves, and wantons. Women of easy virtue came to separate the unwary "pilgrim" from his "poke" of gold dust. The earliest and crudest form of entertainment was that of the hurdy-gurdy or dance hall type, wholly incidental to gambling and the sale

[16] Ethel Austin Grant, *Theatrical Performances in Yesler's Hall, 1865–1867; in Squire's Opera House, 1879–1882; and in the Standard Theatre, Seattle; and a prefatory list of places of Theatrical Entertainment in Seattle by J. Willis Sayre,* University of Washington. The writer is indebted to this collection for many newspaper citations. See also Bernard Berelson and Howard F. Grant, "The Pioneer Theatre in Washington," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXVIII* (April, 1937).

[17] *Federal Works Project Files,* 1876; Grant, *Theatrical Performances in Yesler's Hall,* 19–24.

[18] H. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border,* New York, 1866, 224–235; *Missouri Republican,* May 21, and June 14, 1859. The *Rocky Mountain News,* published at Cherry Creek, and newspapers of the Missouri River towns advertised their respective merits as the best place to start for the Pike's Peak region, and these with newspaper men such as Horace Greeley and Henry Villard spurred thousands to rush westward where they joined those drifting eastward after the collapse of the California gold boom: see Leroy Hafen, ed., *Henry Villard, The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Rush,* Princeton, 1930, 1–20; Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey,* New York, 1860, passim.

of liquor. The early dance hall often staged shows of singing and dancing acts, more along the lines of brothel entertainment than artistry, for which there was no admission charge.

Inflation prices ruled. A bottle of beer served in booths cost a dollar. Something called champagne was priced at from five to twelve dollars. Especially bad whiskey was sold at the bar at twenty-five to fifty cents a thimble.[19] Even as in some of our present cities the dance girls received from ten to twenty per cent of the money paid by their partners for drinks and themselves were served with colored water or a soft drink. The band or orchestra in a combination house was instructed to play each dance as quickly as possible, and then the floor manager would bawl, "All promenade to the bar."

In this classification was Denver Hall. Built in the winter of 1858-1859 by Charles Blake, it was a hotel, a saloon, and a professional gambling den where all conceivable games of chance "awaited their tenderfoot victims. . . ."[20] The theatricals here were incidental. In the summer of 1859 James Reid, or Reed erected a building in Auraria known as Reid's Hall and Cibola Hall, after the Cibola Minstrels appeared in it.[21] Cibola Hall gained a notorious reputation and was even avoided as a "brothel dance-hall" by discriminating civilians.[22]

Cricket Hall, sometimes called The Cricket, on Blake Street near Cherry, was Denver's first permanent variety theatre. It was constructed in the winter of 1869-1870 and shortly gained widespread repute as the most notorious variety theatre in the mountains. Its first press advertisement appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* in April, 1870. It was an "all night" affair. Although stage performances were offered, they were on the informal side insofar as there were no rehearsals or scripts.[23] After the Sunday night show the manager of his entertainers would meet to decide upon the program

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19 Daily Central City *Register*, February 8, 1876, article on early Colorado theatricals; Herman S. Davis, ed., *Reminiscences of General William Larimer*, Lancaster, Pa., 1918, 168–169; Libeus Barney, *Early-Day Letters from Auraria, (now Denver)*, Bennington, Vermont, 1859–1860, 85–87; also described by Horace Greeley, who visited it in June, 1859, *The New York Tribune*, July 21, 1859.

20 Barney, *Early-Day Letters from Auraria*, 84–85, lists the games.

21 The Cibolas were first called Sabolas, and the spelling varies with the issues of the *Rocky Mountain News* until December 1859 when it became constant, though the troupe went to Mountain City in February, 1860.

22 See Melvin Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, Denver, 1941, 20–21, for a description of the hall.

23 *The Denver Tribune*, August 10, 1872; *The Denver Post*, August 15, 1920.

for the following week. The Cricket seems to have been a forerunner of some modern night clubs which strangers in a city find such extremely expensive places to visit. *The Denver Tribune* would not offend its readers with a description of the evils sheltered under the roof of The Cricket.[24]

Responsible for the opening of The Cricket was a Mr. Edward Chase. He had come to Denver in 1862, and a year later with a Mr. Sam Hunter had established Progressive Hall, a variety theatre on Blake Street. What became of this is not certain, but Chase managed The Palace variety hall, erected in 1863, before embarking on The Cricket enterprise. The Palace gained true popularity in the late seventies and early eighties, a long period when it was apparently operated by Chase.[25]

Places of entertainment of all kinds opened and closed with such rapidity in the sixties and seventies that records of their existence and offerings are incomplete. Companies playing legitimate drama, as well as variety troupes of good standing, soon invaded the mining regions. As the rougher halls could usually attract all the audiences they could accommodate without advertising, references to these are few. Many of these were written out of curiosity or as criticism, and consequently give little idea of the real place the combination houses played in the hard, often disappointing, and almost entirely male life of many areas. Also, there was a fine distinction between the variety hall catering to men only and the theatre located over a saloon, or at least having a bar in connection with it. Ladies would attend the latter freely, unless the entertainment offered became too broad, or order was not kept. The fact that a theatre was called a 'hall' had nothing to do with its reputation, for most early playhouses were only halls.

A description of life in an early Idaho gold camp by a local editor could serve for that of early theatricals in general on the mining frontier:

> . . . banjoes and violins were to be heard at all hours of the night and that certain click, tick, dick, which belongs only to the gambling room.

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[24] *The Denver Tribune*, August 10, 1872; William N. Byers, editor of the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, opposed variety theatres, beginning with an article on May 18, 1870. The Occidental Music Hall opened about this time as a "respectable" variety theatre, but soon deteriorated to the "infamous" class.

[25] *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 4, 1882, carried a typical advertisement in doggerel style: "Come pay a visit to this temple of fun, High through the air its fame is now rung. . . ."

The principal corners of the streets were occupied by saloons, from which issued people, usually wiping their mouths and tying up their money bags. There were hurdy-gurdies and variety halls running full blast, and some theatres or halls where one may witness a full length play for the sum of one dollar from the gallery or two dollars from the main floor.[26]

In the Montana gold camps the situation was not much different than in other areas. The editor of the *Montana Post,* on October 8 and 15, 1864, in commenting upon the situation, said:

> Hurdy-gurdy halls are now all the go and about the only place of amusement for the boys. There are four in full blast in Virginia City, and the same number in Nevada City, and from the patronage they receive, we infer that money is plentiful among the boys.[27]
>
> Hurdy-gurdy houses are getting numerous in our town and great crowds are in attendance nightly. . . . Con Orem's is the most orderly. He has recently employed four German hurdy-gurdy girls from Nevada City that are the best dancers in town.[28]

Probably the best known place of amusement in the Montana area was at Helena in Last Chance Gulch. It was operated by one Josephine Hensley, better known as "Chicago Joe." Her place of entertainment, called the Blue Room, was a combination dance hall, saloon, and gambling house presided over by her husband, James Hensley "gentleman of the green cloth."[29] The dance hall was eliminated within a short time and the Blue Room became a variety theatre. The reason, according to rumor, was that the territorial legislature of Montana passed an act prohibiting hurdy-gurdy houses. An ambitious young county attorney brought suit against Mrs. Hensley for maintaining one. Her lawyer, using a Webster's *Dictionary,* proved that a hurdy-gurdy was a musical instrument, and therefore a hurdy-gurdy house was a place where such was made, played, or sold. The law had not taken the trouble of defining the term as carefully as Mr. Webster. However, theatricals were

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26 *Idaho Statesman,* October 5, 1867.

27 *Montana Post,* October 1, 1864, recorded the Virginia Minstrel Troupe as entertainers in Virginia City; on November 29 it reported that a theatre, the Montana, was under construction; in its issues of December, 10, 17, 23, 31, and of January 4, 14, 28, and February 2, 1865, it carried notices of legitimate drama as well as the better type of variety being offered at this playhouse.

28 *Montana Post,* October 15, 1864. A Helena editor was sufficiently worried about the large crowds attending the combination halls to write a series of editorials calling for better supervision of these places or their elimination; *Helena Herald,* June 18, and 25, July 3 and 10, 1865.

29 *Helena Daily Independent,* October 26, 1899. The pair were typical characters of the gold rushes and their type has long been portrayed in western plays, novels, story and song.

now emphasized, with an admission charge.[30] Otherwise, the Blue Room, handsomely fitted and decorated with white and gilded woodwork, rich curtains, and "costly, if not artistic scenery," continued to be a veritable gold mine in view of the winnings at gambling and the sale of liquor. In its last years the theatre deteriorated, and when late in October, 1899, the *Helena Daily Independent* carried the announcement of the death of Josephine H-nsley, it mentioned her place as having long been "one of the notorious resorts of the West."[31]

Of the many frontier settlements in the sixties and seventies Cheyenne, Wyoming, no doubt offered the greatest variety of theatrical fare.[32] Evidence that it had its full share of unsavory hurdy-gurdy houses is found in contemporary editorials criticizing the amount of bad liquor sold and the presence of "wantons."[33] Colorful phrases were coined to publicize or describe the town. To sedate citizens it was "the magic city of the plains"; to others it was "the richest and toughest town in the west"; when the railroads made it a center, it was called "Hell on Wheels,"[34] and it has been said that its Gold Room must have been very near the hub.

When the Gold Room opened is uncertain. It has been called Cheyenne's first playhouse and was erected in 1867.[35] Its most famous, or infamous, period was from 1867 to 1876, when it was operated by Jim Allen.[36] This wooden, two-story structure, considered flimsy, survived for various purposes until 1932, making its glamorous and partly legendary history as the Gold Room, the Bella

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30 *Ibid.* See also *Notes on an Interview with the late David Hiliger,* Secretary of the Montana State Historical Society, Helena, Montana, July 27–28, 1936.

31 The editor, however, described her as a woman of "extraordinary strength of character" with generous impulses. She was born in Ireland in 1844, came to Chicago, married a gambler, separated from him, and at twenty-three arrived in Helena and married again. She died poor.

32 William Campton Bell, "A History of the Theatrical Activities of Cheyenne, Wyoming, from 1867 to 1902," master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935, 16. *The Cheyenne Leader,* from its first issue, September 19, 1867, announced the names of playhouses, plays, actors, troupes, melodeons, and the better entertainment.

33 *The Cheyenne Weekly Leader,* January 28, 1868; February 22, 1869.

34 *Cheyenne Leader,* July 11, 1868.

35 *The Wyoming State Tribune,* August 19, 1933. Its location was 310 West Sixteenth Street; Bell, "History of Theatrical Activities in Cheyenne," 25.

36 *Cheyenne State Leader,* November 24, 1932, gives Allen's period as 1867 to 1878, but in 1876 Allen sold it to James McDaniels, who re-named it the New Dramatic Theatre; *Wyoming Writers' Project,* 139.

Union Saloon, and Variety Hall.[37] Roistering patrons from the mines were joined at times in the Gold Room by soldiers opulent with accumulated pay, bull-whackers, and muleskinners, all riotously celebrating their return to "civilization." In 1875 the papers advertised it as "the best dramatic and variety theatre in the west," revealing a trend toward respectability.[38]

There was more decorous theatre entertainment in Cheyenne than the primitive forms enjoyed in the Gold Room. Before the railroad reached the town, the *Cheyenne Leader* on September 19, 1867, announced the arrival of a theatrical troupe from Julesburg. A Mr. King opened King's Theatre early in October.[39] While well-known stars soon appeared, the turbulent population demanded a lower type of artistry. At the very beginning of the settlement the press was advertising such places as the Melodeon, the Model Concert Hall, Beevais Hall, the Theatre Comique, the Oasis and the Union.[40] These apparently changed hands regularly and varied their offerings according to the demands of their patrons.

Gold was discovered in Deadwood Gulch in the Black Hills of the Territory of Dakota in the late autumn of 1875, and the mining camp of Deadwood, laid out the next spring, became the center of activities. The customary camp followers trooped in and halls of entertainment sprung up. Eureka Hall and The Melodeon were combination saloons and dance halls. The Bella Union was Deadwood's first theatre, a log building having a dirt floor covered with sawdust, in which variety programs were offered for three and a half years. The newspapers of the era mention the Theatre Comique, Stone's Hall, and the Colesium. Besides these there were theatres presenting legitimate programs and plays, but this fare seemed too respectable for the majority of the population.[41]

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[37] The name Bella Union was common on the mining frontier; *Theatre Buildings*, 11. For the history of this one see *Cheyenne State Leader*, November 24, 1932; *Wyoming Writers' Project*, 139; *Wyoming State Tribune*, August 19, 1933.

[38] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, May 7, 1875; *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, February 15, July 15, 1875.

[39] *Cheyenne Leader*, October 5, 12, 17, 19, 1867.

[40] *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, October 19, 1867; February 28, April 20, 1868.

[41] Black Hills Pioneer, June 8, 1876, and January 6, 15, February 6, 24, March 26, May 26, 1877; John Finnerty, "Deadwood in 1876," in *Motor Travel*, November, 1927, and "The Black Hills," in *ibid.*, August, 1927; John S. McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, Deadwood, 1939, 65–67; *Black Hills Daily Times*, January 15, March 3, April 4, 1877; *Black Hills Champion*, June 2, 1877; *Black Hills Weekly Times*, January 6, February 12, 16, 1877, and June 1, July 24, 1878; *Lead City Telegram*, March 31, 1878.

By far the most notorious house of entertainment in the whole Black Hills region was the Gem, which for nearly a quarter of a century played an important part in the night life of Deadwood and the surrounding area.[42] On the balcony of the ugly square front of this "palace of adventure" the brass band played each evening for an hour, sometimes presenting part of an act to lure the curious into the building. The Gem attracted large crowds nightly.[43]

Many stories have been told regarding the fabulous Gem and its girls, who lived in drab and dismal rooms connected with the theatre. If even a small percentage of these tales are true, the Gem more than lived up to its reputation. Al Swearengen, whose appearance and general characteristics suggested the old-time villian in melodrama, was accused of abusing his girls. So many charges were brought against him that, as one writer has said, "The Gem was famous even in mining camp days for its iniquity."[44] Many a young girl began her career there as a singer or dancer, thinking she was well on the lower rungs of success, too naïve to appreciate the significance of the curtained boxes. More than one, disillusioned, shot herself, took an overdose of laudanum, or resorted to poison. A county official, going over the records of an undertaker during the years of the Gem's prosperity, was appalled by the number of girls both here and at other variety halls in Deadwood in the late seventies and early eighties who apparently had committed suicide, although the cause of death was usually reported in the press and by the coroner as due to pneumonia or mountain fever.

Probably only one of the many entertainers who came and went had the courage to defy Swearengen and to throw herself on the mercy of the better citizens of Deadwood. There were numerous fights among the girls at the Gem over men, and more than one incident where a man shot a girl and then turned the gun on himself. "I loved her too much," seemed the proper lyric that accompanied these suicide-murders, although the more stable population thought it a poor one. Like the Blue Room, the Gem lived beyond its time, down into the early years of a century which had no place for it. As patronage declined, Swearengen, like Josephine Hensley, seemed always to hope for the boom days to return. In

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42 Estelline Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days,* New York, 1935, 105–109. The author spent her childhood in Deadwood Gulch, where her father was a federal judge.

43 *Black Hills Pioneer,* May 27, 1877.

44 Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days,* 115–116; McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills,* 68–70, is thoroughly critical of Swearengen and his den.

the prosperous years he was said to have handled more money than any other resident of Deadwood. On ordinary nights his receipts often amounted to $5000, at times running as high as $10,000. When the Gem burned in 1902 he lost what little he had left, and is said to have gone away from Deadwood penniless and friendless. A few years later he was killed by a locomotive in the railroad yards of Denver while attempting to steal a ride as a common tramp, and was buried in the potter's field. But Deadwood learned of his death, and on the following Sunday a local minister used as his text, "The way of the transgressor is hard."[45]

In April, 1877, Edward Schieffelin discovered a rich body of silver laden ore in the foothills of the Mule Mountains in the southern part of the Territory of Arizona, and large numbers of miners and westerners abandoned their former activities to follow the trek to the new strike. The townsite of Tombstone was laid out in March, 1879.[46] Growing to a population of about three thousand in the next year, the camp had an unusual amount of entertainment offered both by amateur and professional companies. The first theatre of which there is any record was the Comique, a variety hall, whose term of service is not clear.[47] Overshadowing this was another well-known variety house, the Bird Cage Theatre, which was erected on the south side of Allen Street. Tombstone continued to grow during the early eighties to its peak population of about fifteen thousand people. This former "haunt of the jackrabbit and rattlesnake" gained a reputation for its boisterous way of life, until the boom collapsed when the mines were flooded with water.[48]

On December 26, 1881, the *Tombstone Epitaph* announced the opening of the Bird Cage Theatre, under the management of William Hutchinson and his wife.[49] It is probable that the house gained its

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45 Bennett, Old Deadwood days, 105–109; McClintock, *Pioneer Days*, 65–76. Swearengen was perhaps the most inhumane of the managers of variety houses. Like other famous proprietors of infamous combination places his affluent days ran out and his venture became a failure.

46 Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, New York, 1932, 200–208.

47 Clair Eugene Willson, *Mimes and Miners; A Historical Study of the Theatre in Tombstone*, Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 1, University of Arizona, 1935, 11; *The Cricket*, December, 1888.

48 Ward R. Adams, *History of Arizona*, Phoenix, 1930, I, 447–455.

49 *Tombstone Epitaph*, December 19, 1881, indicated its site as the Gilded Age Mining Claim, purchased by Hutchinson for $600; Allen Street became the principal thoroughfare of the town. The Bird Cage passed through various hands and was known as the Bird Cage Opera House, the Elite, and Olympic. It was dark for thirty years until 1929, when a celebration was held to recall old days. In 1934 it became the Bird Cage Coffee Shoppe.

unique name from the smiles and songs of the actresses, who came principally from the variety houses of San Francisco.[50] The Hutchinsons worked hard to maintain an air of respectability in their theatre and to secure decorum among the girls. They went so far as to attempt to have a "Ladies' night" but the first one was such a decided failure that this idea was given up.[51] Few records of performances given in the Bird Cage are available. Some good variety entertainers appeared here,[52] but a true estimate of the reputation of the theatre in the town may be obtained from the fact that while almost from the very first audiences at Schieffelin Hall, a playhouse offering legitimate drama, demanded the presence of the talent from the Bird Cage, the compliment of a return engagement at the variety theatre was apparently never tendered.[53]

Nevertheless, under the Hutchinsons, the Bird Cage flourished. The press spoke well of it.[54] In the late eighties the theatre came under the control of Joe Bignon and his wife, and they, too, tried to maintain a respectable house.[55] In 1888 a traveler in Tombstone, in commenting upon the theatre, showed how popular Bignon had managed to make the old Bird Cage. It was, he said:

> the headquarters of all the bloods of Tombstone and between the hours of eight (at night) and five in the morning, it is one of the liveliest institutions in the western country. There was an excellent variety troupe always maintained, and the bar generally gave employment to three bartenders twenty-four hours daily. The Bird Cage was the soul of Tombstone at night.[56]

In spite of the care taken by the management to maintain an air of respectability, incidents similar to those related of the Gem in Deadwood did occur, "hair-pulling matches", shooting affairs among the audience and at least one attempt at suicide on the part of an

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50 Clair Eugene Willson, "From Variety Theatre to Coffee Shoppe," *Arizona Historical Review*, April, 1935.

51 *Ibid.* The theatre offered only variety, and stress was laid on the sale of liquor.

52 Eddie Foy appeared here not long after the opening of the theatre and according to his statement he and his troupe were well received; Eddie Foy and Alvin F. Harlow, *Clowning Through Life*, New York, 1928, 158–159.

53 The first performance was Christmas Day, 1881, given by the Hutchinson Combination Variety Troupe; Willson, *Mimes and Miners*, 45.

54 Files of *Tombstone Epitaph*, 1881–1883; *Tombstone Republican*, September 16, 1882.

55 In July, 1883, the Hutchinsons sold the Bird Cage. It was closed till January, 1886, when it opened as the Elite; *Daily Tombstone*, March 9, May 3, 6, July 27, 1886; *Tombstone Prospector*, April 13, 18, 1887.

56 *Missouri Republican*, February 5, 1888.

entertainer was reported.[57] In July, 1892, Bignon closed the Bird Cage, as the demand for this type of entertainment waned with the decline of mining.

A Tucson playhouse that would correspond to the Bird Cage was a combination saloon and variety hall called the Park Theatre, which apparently began its existence offering a better type of entertainment, frequented by the "most respectable people in town," but deteriorated into the usual rough-and-ready house so popular on the mining frontier. In appearance and conduct it was much like all other such houses.[58]

When hurdy-gurdy houses were in their hey-dey in the mining camps, an evening in such an establishment was usually good for a morning 'clean-up' of from fifty to a hundred dollars in gold dust taken from the sweepings of the floor. The miners carried this in buckskin pokes, and as they became intoxicated and hilarious, they lost a great deal of dust when they made payments for drinks with liberal pinches from their sacks.[59] In spite of numerous criticisms of hurdy-gurdy houses and combination dance halls, these must not be confused with houses of prostitution. While many of the girls were probably lax in their morals, and many in the audiences were the same, there were bar girls and entertainers and patrons who laid claim to respectability. It should be remembered that women who would associate freely with the turbulent population of the mining era were few, and men of good character thought a dollar in gold dust small payment for the privilege of dancing and talking with any woman.

Any student of the American theatre as it moved west, and then followed the flow of population east again, knows that one of the hardest problems any manager encountered was that of maintaining good order, even in a strictly legitimate house.[60] It was inevitable that the early variety theatres where liquor was served so freely were subject to drunkenness and acts of violence growing out of this. Rowdies and toughs, "bad men" and some of the "erring sister-

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57 Willson, *Mimes and Miners*, 21–23.

58 *Arizona Star*, June 22, 27, 1884.

59 A. K. McClure, *Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1869, 409–414.

60 For example, when the Platte Valley Theatre offered popular drama in Denver in October, 1861, the conduct of the "gallery gods" brought forth a strong rebuke from the editor of the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, October 27, 1861, and a policing system was installed.

hood" felt more at home in the restless, careless establishments where decent citizens hesitated to go. 'Ladies' were usually not wanted, and refused to attend, as the Hutchinsons found to their chagrin. In many places the acts presented were no doubt as good as many offered later in burlesque or vaudeville, but in general these variety theatres were found more worthy of condemnation than of praise.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS

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Book Reviews

Irish Nationalism and British Democracy. By Eric Strauss. Columbia University Press, New York, 1951. Pp. x, 307. $4.25.

This somewhat deceptively named book presents in a brilliant series of essays an economic interpretation of Ireland's relations with England from the birth of Irish nationalism in the latter half of the eighteenth century to the establishment of the Free State. For Mr. Strauss, an Austrian by birth, now a British citizen, and author of a critique of Soviet economy as well as of a study of George Bernard Shaw, Ireland's peculiar political history derives from her former colonial status, and her historical importance from the democratizing influence she had upon the affairs of England and the British Empire. Irish votes and tactics were of critical influence in the passage of the Great Reform Bill, in the modernization of the House of Commons, and the emasculation of the House of Lords. De Valera's curious doctrine of "external association", the author believes, foreshadowed the Commonwealth Declaration of 1949 whose definition of the relations between monarch and Commonwealth was only recently adopted by Elizabeth II.

Perhaps because the study is drawn largely from secondary sources (to judge from the footnotes), it is not difficult to point out errors in fact and interpretation. To choose a few, the Clan-na-Gael could not, contrary to the assertion of page 212, deliver the Irish vote in American elections. And it was the influence of Patrick Ford's ideas and those of Henry George and Michael Davitt that Parnell feared and shut out of the National League, not those of the Fenians, as is suggested on page 278. Inherent in the author's economic approach is a certain disrespect for the force of ideas and the ambiguous play of human personality; for these failings too the study may be criticized. However, Mr. Strauss is not concerned with presenting a balanced and judicious narrative, but rather with analyzing those distinctive social forces that make Irish history, in his opinion, the prototype of the colonial nation struggling to overthrow foreign domination. And he has some extremely provocative ideas.

English economic exploitation, he argues, bred Irish discontent, which in turn germinated nationalism. The intensity of national feeling in any group, however, was in direct proportion to its social unrest, or in inverse proportion to its economic prosperity. Popular leadership was entrusted only to those who expressed national grievances, but demands for redress on the part of any leader were invariably limited by the economic stake that his class had in society. Political life was characteristically colonial in that authority did not directly reflect economic and consequently unstable power, as one group after another abandoned (the nationalist would say "betrayed") the national cause as their demands were met by the government. Popular leaders were thus recruited from progressively lower and more radical strata of society, until in 1916 leadership devolved upon the revolutionary separatists, Connolly and Pearse.

This is a very suggestive and illuminating thesis with obvious applica-

tion to the era of Sadleir and Keogh; but proof is lacking to persuade this reviewer that it applies with equal truth to the times of O'Connell, Parnell and John Redmond. Moreover the author has ignored too much the vitality of nationalism, however factitious its political rhetoric, and the allure it had for generations of middle-class Irishmen from Mitchel to Pearse. Admittedly they were without a stake in the British connection, but their alienation was psychological rather than economic. Needless to say, this is a stimulating study, and it is indeed welcome to a field that remains cluttered with the pieties of nationalism.

THOMAS N. BROWN

The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701–1888. By George Paré. The Gabriel Richard Press, Detroit, 1951. Pp. xv, 717. Illustrated. $6.00.

Father Paré has gone far deeper into the background of Detroit's history than is customary with writers on Catholic diocesan developments and in so doing he has arrived at a good viewpoint of Detroit in its broader religious and international setting. Keeping in mind the reader who wishes the whole story printed in one book, he has painstakingly traced the French advance into the heart of North America. He has not fallen into the error of a number of writers who, during the past year of commemoration of the city's founding, have been exposing their civic pride in print to the utter neglect of historical truth. He has brought together in considerable detail the important people and events that ultimately led to the permanent settlement of what emerged as a thriving industrial center. His history is narrated in an interesting manner.

The first five chapters have to do with the explorers, missionaries, and *courieurs-de-bois* who are famous in Mississippi Valley history. The next five chapters narrate the story of the crown policy of obtaining furs and alligning tribes in the French cause by means of the brandy traffic, which gave occasion to a long, bitter dispute with the missionaries, especially the Jesuits. In this Cadillac loomed large. It would seem that the pages were written some time ago, for there is no reference to the eight articles written on Cadillac in MID–AMERICA by the late Jean Delanglez, who clarified several previously mystifying points. So, too, the footnotes would seem stronger if they contained several books by Delanglez on Frontenac, LaSalle, and Hennepin, and several of the more recent Canadian studies. After the departure of Cadillac single chapters are devoted to the Jesuits in and around Detroit, the English occupation, the priests of Michigan during that period, and the ecclesiastical administration from Baltimore during the American occupation to 1798.

In the next four chapters we find what might well be judged a monograph on the interesting life of the zealous Father Gabriel Richard, who, besides attending his parish in Detroit through the fire of 1805 and the War of 1812, journeyed extensively to the mid-western outposts. Father Paré gives an unusually clear picture of this great pioneer through the trying years in which he almost became Detroit's first bishop, was elected Michigan's delegate to Congress, was hounded into jail, and died in a

cholera epidemic. The last ten chapters are a worthy contribution. In them we have the progress on Church organization during the succession of bishops to 1888, then special phases of Catholic activities, such as the Indian missions and schools, the rise of the parochial schools with the advent of the sisterhoods, the beginnings of higher education, various diocesan charitable institutions and lay organizations, and the Catholic press. In the wealth of details one does not lose sight of the larger picture of steady growth. And the format and illustrations are quite pleasing.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Some Modern Historians of Britain. Essays in Honor of R. L. Schuyler. R. Herman Ausubel, J. Bartlet Brebner, Erling M. Hunt, editors. Dryden Press, New York, 1951. Pp. 384.

It may soon become a tradition among American scholars to honor their distinguished past professors with a commemorative volume of essays. A few years ago it was Herbert E. Bolton and now it is R. L. Schuyler of Columbia, well-known for his work on British imperial and constitutional history, who is honored by his former students. The volume comprises twenty-two critical essays of about fifteen pages each on the work of as many historians of Britain. The selections range from Lingard, Hallam, Carlyle, and Froude, down to Halevy, Churchhill, Tawney, and Namier. There was no principle of selection since the writers chose their own subjects. Consequently, such names as Macaulay, Green, and Maitland do not occur.

Despite significant omissions and the simple expedient of arranging the essays in the order of the subjects' dates of birth, a certain continuity does appear which may not have been in the intentions of the editors. These historians were quite obviously men of their times. Their frame of reference was built upon the norms of their own day. With due allowance for individual differences among them, the reader can easily trace in their work the development of English historiography against the intellectual background of their times.

In such a logical regrouping, the progression begins with the "scientific" school of Lingard, Gardiner, and Firth, all of whom insisted upon a complete reexamination of English history on the basis of the documents, both old and new. Although falling considerably short of the rigid and unattainable Ranke formula, they strove with some success to follow the precept of Gardiner that "he who studies the society of the past will be of greater service to the society of the present in proportion as he leaves it out of account." Unfortunately, it was this precept which was ignored by other less wary members of the new school. The so-called "Whig" historians were so much a part of their age that they could not leave it out in their judgments of the past. These men no longer argued about the Reformation on religious grounds. For the most part, they were religious skeptics who reflected the neo-paganism of the mid-nineteenth century. On the

other hand, they were highly partisan in their defense of Victorian England and its institutions.

In these essays the "Whig" group gets a decidedly more critical treatment than in the essays of H. A. L. Fisher, who has covered some of the same ground. Weston, in her essay on Hallam, shows the influence of Butterfield's incisive attack on their method. Among others, Froude, Leslie Stephen, and Lecky are all cited for their common error in seeking to explain the present in terms of the past or to study the past "with reference to the present." In some cases the Englishmen who made the present were made the subject of ringing praise resulting in what Flournoy calls the "protofascism" of Carlyle or the bigotry and racism of Goldwyn Smith. Others display an optimism about the future manifested in what John Morley considered to be "the inevitability of progress," a dogma of Victorian England which Christopher Dawson has aptly termed "the religion of progress."

The disillusionment of the end of the century which gave impetus to the rise of Socialism in Britain is reflected in the work of Tawney and Eileen Power whose interest is in economics, and centers in the common man with heavy emphasis on the inequities of the old social structure.

As might be expected, the essays vary considerably in readability. The solid evaluations of Gardiner and Carlyle are matched by a highly rhetorical effort on Lecky whose turgid style is forbiddingly ornate. The selections are worthy ones although the reader may well ask what an essay on Winston Churchill is doing in such select company. He will, in all probability, still be asking that question after reading Hurwitz's devastating sketch of the statesman turned historian. Churchill's rhetorical and personalized history is given a thorough going over. One work (*World Crisis*) is neatly disposed of in Balfour's jibe about "Winston's brilliant autobiography disguised as a history of the universe." Aside from this instance, however, the essays are restrained and moderate in their judgments. Moreover, contemporary criticism is mingled with the authors' views to give balance and perspective. Altogether, this book of essays is a most useful introduction to the English historians.

PAUL S. LIETZ

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The Society of Mary in Texas. By Joseph William Schmitz, S.M., Ph.D., San Antonio. 1951. Pp. 261. $3.75.

Texas a hundred years ago was a lusty youth with its nine years of independence and six of statehood in the Union. Spanish-Americans mingled with French, English, and the "westerner" core of Lone Star Life. Boundless energy and determined progress ran unabashed with frontier individualism, callow politics, untrained leadership. Despite its enormous territory, thoughtful men saw a great need in the very thin religious backbone of that otherwise stalwart citizenry. The *empresarios* had at first contracted to practice the Catholic religion. We may not censure this lighthearted commitment if we recall that in their minds such a contract was

conditioned by the current western notion of religion as something to "join" and to modify or change in sporadic revival fashion.

One of the founders of this civilization was Bishop Jean-Marie Odin, who is 1841 undertook the direction of the future (1847) diocese of Galveston. In 1851 he secured the memorable service of the Marianists, and planted them among the 3,000 folk in the metropolis of southern Texas, San Antonio. Thence they spread a beneficent work in education and the ministry. Today these Brothers of Mary celebrate their centenary, and fittingly one of their outstar ding historians presents their story.

The work is done with thoroughness, and restraint. By design none of the living claim the honor they deserve. Men who helped to make Texas make this book. There is Brother Edel, the rock of them all, corner-stone in the organization, planning, direction and building of a solid edifice. Brother Charles Francis, great educator, teaches through half a century, and a half of the volume. Brothers Joseph Schwab, and John Garvin, Father Frische, and John Twohig in the van of a host of able lay schoolmasters, carry the bulk of the narrative.

Central in the wide web of development is the St. Marys University in San Antonio, with its 1951 enrollment of 1,342 students of every class and religion, its 83 instructors, its expansion into graduate work and legal education. Eight years after Andrew Edel undertook the post of superior, he made a perpetual agreement with the bishop to maintain the school, in return for the endowment coming from Conceptión Mission. The Society returned the mission to the diocese in 1911, and in exchange obtained full title to the school properties. The financial struggle underlying this brief statement indicates the nature of their efforts, and the devotion that persevered through the hardships native to this corner of the southwest.

This is a scholarly and trustworthy composition. Nothing goes unsupported by first rate documentation. An ample bibliography, and an undoubted control of Texan background, establish the work as sound in every particular. Reserve is constantly evident, to insure complete objectivity. For those who know little of what makes the Marianist so effective a teacher, the picture of their founding and of their group and individual training will be most rewarding. The printing is meticulously exact, for format attractive.

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University, Ohio

Soldiers, Indians, and Silver. The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1500–1600. By Philip Wayne Powell. The University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1952. Pp. xi, 317. Maps. $4.50.

One of the immediately noticible features of this week is a solidity combined with readability. Professor Powell has traveled far to gather the materials out of which he has fashioned the highly interesting account of the Spanish conquest of the conglomeration of tribes known as the

Chichimecan Confederacy occupying the mountain area to the northwest of Mexico City. As a result of his long and careful research this volume appears now as another of the series of publications of the University of California on the advance of the Spanish Empire up the Pacific slope. The story needed telling, both in its broader aspects and in its details, and the author has succeeded admirably in keeping control of each aspect and in keeping the reader in mind of the relation of his basic work to the general advance of civilization.

The narrative begins in 1546 with the discovery of silver in the mountains roved in by the Zacatecas Indians and the founding of the mining town at Zacatecas about five hundred miles from Mexico City. This was practically in the center of the Gran Chichimeca, the area beginning a hundred miles from the capital and extending in the mountain "corridor" some six hundred miles northward. The Chichimecas tribe by tribe were determined to prevent *entradas* and establishments of the silver seekers, and the men of the mines were equally bent upon exploiting the vast subsoil riches of the barbarous land. Between their strikes and the civilized south were threatening tribesmen. Thus the "Seeds of War," as the first part of the book is named, were sown. In three chapters we have a description of Zacatecas, the "Silver Highway," and the "Warriors of the North." Various types of readers will be interested in the new and illuminating details about the roads, the Indian attacks, and the tribal customs.

The second part of the work, "Frontier in Flames," has to do with growth and organization of the Indian resistance from 1550 to 1570. While the Chichimecas banded together in a common cause were destroying caravans, slaying Spaniards, and capturing great quantities of vital supplies, to say nothing of numbers of all-important horses, and while civil and religious officials begged for a defensive and offensive program for the salvation of the Gran Chichimeca, no definite policy was forthcoming from Spain until the arrival of Viceroy Don Martín Enríquez in 1570.

Part Three, headed "Guerra a Fuego y a Sangre," explains in five chapters the policies employed by the viceroys for the Chichimeca War between the years 1570 and 1585. To frame plans for the pacification of the north was no easy task, in view of the legal and moral questions involved. Was it lawful, was it in accord with the moral code to wage an aggressive war and to capture and enslave the resisting tribesmen? The answers to these points of warm dispute were finally settled, not by theologians or lawyers but by official edict. There was to be a "peace by the sword" policy, practically, however, a "war to the death."

To conduct such an enormous program a reorganization of the military personnel was fundamental, and so also was the need for large funds. Chapter seven is very instructive in the matter of the soldiers, their salaries, the officers, their qualities, and the formation of the caudillo type of captain in the mining frontier. The implementation of the general policy is continued in the next chapter with the establishment of presidios and defensive settlements in the land of war. But these, the author concludes in chapter eight, were not the solution to the problem of pacification. Therefore, another means was chosen, namely, the use of Indian auxiliaries both

as soldiers and as colonists. How this was done is the substance of chapter nine. The conclusion of this section on the warfare to 1585, reveals that the policy of fire and sword had not proved successful, even though the Spanish positions in all of the above respects had been strengthened and the tribes of the Chichimeca had been weakened by losses in battle, destruction of their abodes, capture of their warriors, and desertions.

Part Four is "Pacification," in two chapters, "The Decisive Years, 1585–1600," and "Forging the Peace." The policy which eventually brought peace was, in brief, that of feeding the souls and bodies of the mountain Indians. The Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries established their mission systems with the aid at this time of the Spanish authorities. The manner in which the missions brought culture is left by Professor Powell to other writers. The government began to supply sustenance for the bodies of the natives, until agriculture and grazing became the occupations of the former rovers of the mountains.

The book is in excellent format and it has a good index and bibliography. The footnotes, blocked at the end of the text, run to sixty pages. There are four fine maps drawn by the author.

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Notes and Comments

Bishop Francisco Bartolomé Porro y Reinado, CC. RR. MM.

A certain amount of definite information has been lacking heretofore with regard to one of the earliest members of the North American hierarchy, Bishop Francisco Bartolomé Porro y Reinado, CC. RR. MM., first Bishop of Louisiana and the Two Floridas. New light has been shed on the life of this little-known prelate as the result of data bearing on him which has been found in the Vatican Archives, the Vatican Library, and in the archives of the Regular Clerks Minim, to which religious Congregation he belonged. This Congregation (Congregatio Clericorum Regularium Minorum) is scarcely, if at all, known in the United States and should not be confused with the Minims (Ordo Minorum), with which Bishop Porro y Reinado has been identified incorrectly by several writers of American church history. This is not so surprising, however, when one realizes that even the Bishop's name has been almost generally misspelled. The following facts, therefore, should be of help to students working in this particular field of American religious life.

Francisco Bartolomé Porro y Reinado was born at Gibralter, then in the Diocese of Cádiz, Spain, on October 15, 1739, the legitimate son of Tomás Porro and Sebastiana Reinado. His earlier years were spent in Spain, but it was while he was residing in Rome that he was nominated by the King of Spain, Carlos IV, for the vacant see of Louisiana and The Two Floridas in succession to Bishop Luis Ignacio Maria de Peñalver y Cárdenas, titular Bishop of Tricca and apostolic administrator of the Louisiana and Florida diocese from 1793 to 1801 and only recently promoted to the metropolitan see of Guatemala. In the Secret Consistory of July 20, 1801, Pope Pius VII confirmed the nomination of the Spanish King. On the following fifteenth of November Porro y Reinado was consecrated in the church of the Regular Clerks Minim, SS. Vincent and Anastasius, in Rome. The consecrating prelate was Francisco Antonio Cardinal de Lorenzana. His assistants were Camillus Campanelli, titular Archbishop of Athens, and Bishop Simon de Magistris, titular Bishop of Cyrene.

Because of the approaching winter season, the newly-consecrated bishop decided to postpone his departure for America until the Spring. Enroute to New Orleans he stopped off in Málaga, where he arrived on June 7, 1802. Here he learned of the reported transfer of Louisiana to France. In order to be sure of his jurisdictional status he wrote to the Spanish Court for further instructions. He was told to proceed no further. Finally, on July 17, 1803, he was translated to the see of Tarazona in Spain. Here he died, on January 3, 1814, the last Spanish bishop to have jurisdiction in what is now the Archdiocese of New Orleans and several other sees in our southern states.

JOSEPH B. CODE

* * * *

The Call of the Western Prairie by Elizabeth Jane Leonard, printed in 1952, is the biography of a Wisconsin couple, John and Ann Schmalz, who in 1884 took their seven children to a homestead in Custer County, Nebraska. The story narrates the development of the family from the primitive sod-house days to a time when the older children are all married, neat frame houses with ample barns dot the landscape, and Ann and John have become a well-to-do farm couple in the autumn of life.

Apparently the book was written with the idea of preserving the legendary recollections of early life in Nebraska. In the introduction it is said that "the story is so closely related to historic background that the reader cannot tell where fact ends and fiction begins . . ." That, it would seem, is the difficulty with this kind of writing. There is no indication in the whole book by which one may identify any of the characters with historical individuals. There is no definite citation of sources. The author allows her imagination full freedom in both her descriptions and the dialogues which she puts into the mouths of the many people who come and go across the pages; and the simple things they do are colored with romantic haze.

Those who might enjoy reading an Americanized version of the classic *Swiss Family Robinson,* where every episode turns out well in the end, may obtain a copy from Library Publishers, New York City, for $6.00.

R. N. HAMILTON

* * * *

Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., Apostle of El Paso, by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., Ph.D., was published by the Revista Catolica Press of El Paso, Texas, in 1951. The last page in this book is 228. There are 146 pages of text, followed by over fifty pages of appendices. Most of the text has to do with the people, places, and events in the active life of Father Pinto, and more particularly with the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross. There are ninety illustrations of varying quality. The book is placed under the general heading of *Jesuit Studies—Southwest,* Number Two, and it could have been more properly entitled a "Compilation of Materials on the History of the Church in the Southwest." The book unfortunately is odd in format, structure, choice of materials and at times in phraseology. It breaths a spirit of piety and of love for Texas and the Southwest.

* * * *

The Early Histories of St. Louis, edited by John Francis McDermott, is the third of the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation publications. The editor is well known in Missouri for his great appreciation of the early history of his native state and city and he has done well in bringing together the writings of Auguste Chouteau, John A. Paxton, Lewis C. Beck, "A Creole," Wilson Primm, and J. N. Nicollet. His purpose was not to correct or criticize, but simply to present the texts in a single volume for the use of scholars and general readers. Mr. McDermott introduces the texts in thirty pages with an ample amount of explanation and criticism. He presents suitable biographical data about each of the writers and, equally helpful, a chronology of St. Louis history and maps. The printing is much better than that in the first volume of this series, although the problem of the index form seems still unsolved. All in all, the 171 pages are worth the investment of four dollars.

* * * *

The book review editor of this quarterly has been trying for some time without success to get a reviewer for Harold T. Wilkins, *Secret Cities of Old South America, Atlantis Unveiled,* published in 1952 by Library Publishers, Inc., New York, and Made and Printed in Great Britain by Greycaines. There are nine chapters, a biblio-

graphy and an index in 468 pages, besides fifteen plates. There are two inner-cover maps on which some strange names appear, as on the roughly drawn chart of Ireland where one finds the name "IERNE, Land of Crom—Sun King," and on what resembles Scotland the name "KALTANA, Land of the Styx and Acheron," is given. The jacket should have attracted a reviewer, since it states: "For ten years or more Mr. Wilkins has been accumulating very little-known source material [*sic*], in six languages, about the ancient past of old America and long vanished continents, sunk by tremendous cataclysms. To this he has added a large corpus of first-hand travel-adventure material, and much more from others who have explored the byways and entered the secret heart of South America. . . . The book is rich in startlingly new historical discoveries. . . ." To its author's satisfaction it explains many mysteries hitherto inexplicable: the continents, Atlantis, Mu, and Pan; the various places visited by "old man Noah and the Arks"; the Amazons, El Dorado, monstrous beasts, "Weird Denizens of Antediluvian Forests"; giants; and a vast assortment of myths from all over the world. Some reviewer is likely to call this book gibberish. It is an outstanding example of digressive and diffusive writing; it contains a wealth of jumbled information and misinformation, guesses and probabilities; it manifests almost complete gullibility as far as myths are concerned and complete muddlement or bigotry as far as Christianity is concerned.

* * * *

Dead Cities and Forgotten Tribes, by Gordon Cooper, president of the Globetrotters Club, was recently published in Philosophical Library, New York, after having been printed in Great Britain. This book of nineteen chapters in 160 pages exclusive of the illustrations is rather high priced but it should prove interesting to those who like travelogue reading.

* * * *

The Martyrdom of Silesian Priests, 1945–1946, published by Kirchliche Hilfsstelle, now the firm of Christ Unterwegs, München 15, Germany, is a remarkable brochure, telling of the deaths of 187 of the 275 Catholic priests of Silesia at the hands of the Soviets,

some by military executioners, some at the hands of murderers, some by starvation and exposure in prison camps. The contents of the book are synopses of reports and eyewitness accounts of the victims' last days, and many of the accounts are accompanied by photographs and vital statistics. References are made also to the thousands of deaths among the civilians which occurred as a result of violence and exposure during the peried when the Silesians were being evacuated. The work is paper bound and may be obtained from the above mentioned firm for one dollar.

* * * *

A notable addition to California historical literature came from the University of California Press this year. It is Father Baegert's *Nachrichten* which now can be known as *Observations in Lower California by Johann Jakob Baegert, S.J.,* translated from the Original German, with an Introduction and Notes, by M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann. Certainly, the translators are to be congratulated on the facile, even literary manner in which they have captured the spirit of Baegert's original publication of 1772, and they bring out its humor and pathos without sacrificing any of the historical value of the contents. Baegert, rudely exiled from Lower California with his fellow Jesuits at the time of the Spanish suppression of the Society of Jesus, was in reality a displaced person on his return to Germany. Longing for his mission in the rugged peninsula and for his backward Indians he begins his Report with the words: "Everything concerning California is of such little importance that it is hardly worth the trouble to take a pen in hand to write about it." He then proceeds to write almost two hundred pages on every form of animal, mineral and vegetable life in a captivating style. The University of California Press has done what can readily be called a beautiful job of printing and editing. This volume is priced at five dollars.

* * * *

Jean de Brébeuf is famed as the Jesuit missionary in Canada who was martyred by the Iroquois Indians on March 16, 1649. He was canonized in June, 1930, and there have been numerous accounts of his life among the savages. There has been no complete list of his writings until this year. A short time ago there appeared the first

of a two volume work, *Étude sur les écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf,* by René Latourelle, S.J., with a preface by Professor Guy Frégault of the University of Montreal. The second volume is to appear soon. These are volumes IX and X of the Studia Collegii Maximi, L'Immaculée-Conception College, (1855 est, rue Rachel, Montreal, Canada), which is distributor of the books. Father Latourelle has thus far performed a task which will please scholars. He has gathered bibliography on Brébeuf and has prepared a complete list of his writings with a critical discussion of their authenticity, their editions and their translations. In the second section of his work he has a special study of the Relations of 1635 and of 1636. The Relation of 1635 is the first of Brébeuf's letters. Describing in detail the roads to Huronia and the trials and tribulations of the itinerary, the author then makes a study of Brébeuf's writings from the ethnological viewpoint. The third part of this section he analyzes the actual operation of the mission organized by Brébeuf. It is hoped that the second volume of this study will continue with the good approach and printing. Each volume is priced at three dollars.

* * * *

Main Fleet to Singapore, by Captain Russell Grenfell, R. N., was published earlier in the year by The Macmillan Company. Written in the same terse style as the author's *Nelson the Sailor* and *The Bismarck Episode,* the book is even more scathing of the ministry's mismanagement of its sea power, its domestic affairs and its foreign policies. More, although Captain Grenfell candidly admits that the United States has taken over control of the sea, he is critical now of the manner in which we conducted the war in the Pacific and of the way in which we build armies rather than navies.

In the first three chapters there is a review of the events in the Far East from the emergence of Japan to 1936. Here a number of readers may feel that Japan was nurturing a just grievance against the British and the Americans. In his treatment of the Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt diplomatic moves Grenfell is quite ironic, and it is difficult to see if he lays the blame for Japan's entry into the war on the one or on the other. Whatever may be the merits of the book from the historical viewpoint, and whatever the value of the criticism of Mr. Churchill, or shall we say, condemnation of Mr. Churchill from his own written words, there is no doubt about Grenfell's mastery of description of the epochal naval events in the Pacific. Beginning with chapter five the author gives

the story of Singapore, its importance, Mr. Churchill's failure to strengthen it, the Japanese move, the stupidity of sending *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* to Singapore without air cover, their destruction, and the inquest of the disaster. In his comments on the latter the Captain is at his scathing best.

Chapters follow on the Loss of Malaya, The Loss of the Dutch East Indies, The Naval Situation in the Indian Ocean, January to May, 1942. Then come the Coral Sea Battle, and the Battle of Midway, vividly described by word and maps, and, from the viewpoint of the Japanese plan! This should have succeeded, according to the Author, had not the Japanese Admiral made one more mistake than the Americans—releasing his air protection. In all, the book is very stimulating, despite the tragedies which it recounts.

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Issues in the Roosevelt-Taft Contest of 1912

Few of our national political campaigns have presented the variety of important issues so ably debated as the campaign of 1912. Of these issues this paper will attempt to discuss first, the judiciary and the judicial recall, second, the trust question. Of the minor, though significant issues, two will be considered here; first, President Taft's arbitration treaties, and second, Canadian reciprocity. The tariff, of course, was always in the background as a basic issue, and President Taft was never able to overcome his original errors in the Payne-Aldrich tariff battle; yet in 1912 the tariff was overshadowed by other issues.

The Judiciary and the Judicial Recall

Whatever prospect Theodore Roosevelt had for capturing the Republican nomination at Chicago in June of 1912 was destroyed by the vigor and the emotion displayed in attacking the courts. His speech before the Ohio Constitutional Convention in February of 1912 could not have more effectively destroyed his chances in the presidential race had it been deliberately designed for that purpose. *The New York Times* said editorially that the view was widespread that Colonel Roosevelt had adopted this method of taking himself out of the contest for the Republican nomination. "It is well known," the *Times* said, "that he had been saying to his friends for weeks that he did not want another term in the White House, and that only the call to do the job of work for all the people could induce him to take the nomination. Now he has laid down his platform. . . ." This paper also commented:

The real significance of the Columbus utterance is its extreme radicalism. Mr. Roosevelt now burns his bridges. . . . It is not too much to say that as a platform it goes the 'whole hog' for radicalism. Mr. La Follette did not go further; in fact there is no further, for now Mr. Roosevelt has traversed the whole field and takes a stand upon the ultimate boundary of radicalism.[1]

The hue and cry raised over the Columbus speech indicated that many political observers had not noted that Roosevelt had for many years regarded the courts as the chief obstacle to the achievement of social justice. Apparently they had not read the series in the *Outlook* in 1911 under the general title, "Nationalism and the Judiciary." One editor noted that these articles were scarcely mentioned in the press. The most significant article Roosevelt wrote was published a few days after he left the White House in 1909 under the caption, "A Judicial Experience."[2] In this article Roosevelt recalled the sweatshop law which he sponsored in the New York Assembly in 1885; this law was declared unconstitutional by the New York Court of Appeals. This decision rankled Roosevelt for many years; finally in 1909 he said of the early decision that "Anything like effective tenement house reformation was thereby deferred for fifteen or twenty years, and during that time men, women, and children were guaranteed their liberty to fester in sodden misery." To an extent, he believed that such decisions indicated that judges did not know how the other half lived. Furthermore, Roosevelt declared, "A hair-splitting refinement in decisions may result in as much damage to the community as if the judge were actually corrupt. Freedom of contracts should be permitted only so far as is compatible with the best interests of the community; and when vested rights become entrenched wrongs, they should be overturned."[3] In 1912, Roosevelt demonstrated that he meant exactly what he said in 1909. It is scarcely believable to this writer that the 1909 article was intended as a campaign document.

Roosevelt took an active part in the campaign of 1910. His most notable and controversial speech, "The New Nationalism," was given at Osawatomie, Kansas, August 31.[4] At this time he said

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1 *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1912, 8.

2 *Outlook*, V. 91 (March 13, 1909), 563–565. This issue publishes "A Judicial Experience." The series, "Nationalism and the Judiciary," is found in the *Outlook*, V. 97 (February 25, 1911), 383–385: (March 4, 1911), 488–492; (March 11, 1911), 532–536; (March 18, 1911), 574–577. For an "on the spot" analysis of the "New Nationalism" see *Harper's Weekly*, October 8, 1910, 6.

3 *Outlook*, V. 91 (March 13, 1909), 564.

4 Theodore Roosevelt, *Social Justice and Popular Rule*, 5–28.

that the judiciary should be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property. Some were disturbed by the declaration:

> Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

A few weeks later, after the Osawatomie speech was given, Elihu Root in a public address branded Roosevelt as a radical. Root said (October 28, 1910) that if the Republicans lost the 1910 election they would probably turn in 1912 to Roosevelt or to a more radical leader, such as are always available to the west.[5] Perhaps the basic theme of "The New Nationalism" was Roosevelt's belief in a powerful national government. He also said at Osawatomie, "The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the National Government."[6]

Early in 1911, Roosevelt entered into a long controversy with Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, of the Connecticut Supreme Court, over a decision by Baldwin invalidating the Federal Employers' Liability Act. This law said that an employee could not sign away his right to recover for physical injury to himself. Roosevelt characterized Baldwin's decision as reactionary, and the judge threatened Roosevelt with a libel suit. Roosevelt wrote to the judge, who had invoked the fifth amendment against the Act, that "the so-called freedom of contract which you have enunciated . . . is a relic of barbarism. It . . . is opposed to the known fact that to a large extent there is no freedom in the contract which the employee makes with the great employer." Roosevelt asserted that the decision was morally wrong; that no court in a democracy should be allowed to claim immunity from fair criticism. Judge Baldwin did not file the suit. On January 15, 1912, the United States Supreme Court upheld the Employers' Liability Act, thereby reversing Baldwin's decision.[7]

The attack on the courts was not monopolized by Roosevelt, though he always occupied the center of the stage. In Congress, Mr. Henry Clayton of Alabama gave notice that he intended to draw a bill to compel judges to retire at the age of 70. Mr. Clayton

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5 *Nation*, V. 91 (November 3, 1910), 405.

6 Theodore Roosevelt, *Social Justice and Popular Rule*, 19.

7 *Outlook*, V. 97 (January 28, 1911), 240–243. Roosevelt also said in his letter to Baldwin, "I hold that the growth of our industrial system . . . during the past sixty or seventy years render it imperative that there shall be a reshaping of legislative action if the interests of the wage-earner and the laborer are to be served." For the U. S. Supreme Court decision in this case, see *Nation*, V. 94, (January 18, 1912).

asserted that in view of the fact that army officers were compelled to retire at the age of 64, he could see no reason why a judge should not retire at 70.[8]

Congressman James R. Mann of Illinois, a Republican, supported a measure to increase the salary of Federal district judges from $6,000 to $7,000. This proposal was treated with great scorn by Congressman William A. Cullop of Indiana, a Democrat. Cullop suggested that those Federal judges not satisfied with their salaries resign and give others a chance to move up. More important, the Indiana Congressman demanded that the written endorsements or recommendations for the appointees to Federal judgeships be made a matter of public record. Cullop charged that frequently the appointments were dictated by some great interest; as a final blow, he urged that the life tenure for Federal judges be abolished; appoint them, or better, elect the district judges for a fixed term.[9]

Another view of the judiciary question came from Governor Chase Osburn of Michigan, who proclaimed, "Whatever is right is Constitutional." Yet another group made it clear that the courts were not immune to criticism. The Conference of Governors, meeting in October 1911, was so aroused by Judge Walter H. Sanborn's decision in the Minnesota Rate case that a committee composed of Governors Judson Harmon, Herbert Hadley, and Chester H. Aldrich was appointed to present to the high court, in a friendly manner, a protest against the invasion of the states' regulatory authority over the railroads and at the same time an analysis or brief of the law in question. Ex-Governor John F. Forte of New Jersey, said the Governors wanted the United States Supreme Court to have "all the light the fullest research was able to throw upon it."[10]

The crucial speech in Roosevelt's bid for the Republican nomination in 1912 was given February 21 before the Ohio Constitutional Convention at Columbus.[11] Here he declared that constitution-makers should so frame the fundamental law as to allow the people in their legislative capacity to enact into law any measure which they believe necessary for the improvement of social and industrial

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8 *Cong. Record,* XLVIII, pt. ii, 62 Cong., 2 *Session,* 1276–1279.

9 *Ibid.,* 1276–1279.

10 *Outlook,* 99 (Nov. 4, 1911), 549.

11 Theodore Roosevelt, *Social Justice and Popular Rule,* 119–148. *Nation,* V. 95 (September 26, 1912), 273. This periodical asserted that Senator Lodge had read the Columbus speech of February 21 in advance and gave Roosevelt his criticism; whereupon Roosevelt modified his criticism of the judiciary, but when the speech was actually given, Lodge saw his criticism had been fruitless.

conditions—"the power of the people to enact the law should not be subject to debate." The judicial recall, he asserted, was a matter of expediency; of course use it only as a last resort, but—"either the recall will have to be adopted or else it will have to be made much easier to get rid of a bad judge." Roosevelt now lost the support of some of his best friends, among them Stimson, Lodge, and Root. Stimson in sorrow now issued a public statement:

I entered into public life under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. I am a firm believer in the great national policies for which he has fought. And I now remain his sincere friend. But I believe that those who are forcing him, contrary to his original intention, into the arena against Mr. Taft are jeopardizing instead of helping the real cause of progress in the nation.[12]

Harold Remington, a New York lawyer, argued that Roosevelt had merely urged the Ohio Convention to adopt some general clause whereby the people might indicate their advance from an old position in matters of social and economic character. Furthermore, Remington explained, the new constitution should affirm the superiority of the rights of the people over traditional property rights. Actually Remington's explanation emphasized the radical character of the Columbus speech.[13]

Apparently Roosevelt soon realized that his Columbus doctrine was too radical. An appearance on March 20 in Carnegie Hall, New York City, gave him the opportunity to modify his position. He now said that he was not referring to the United States Supreme Court, or to the Federal Constitution.

I am proposing merely in a certain class of cases involving the police power, when a state court has set aside as unconstitutional a law passed by the legislature for the general welfare, the question of the validity of the law—which should depend, as Justice Holmes so well phrases it, upon the prevailing morality or preponderant opinion—be submitted . . . to a vote of the people. . . . And I contend that the people . . . must be better judges of what is the preponderant opinion than the courts.

Roosevelt now seized the opportunity to brand Taft as a reactionary in the field of social justice:

Mr. Taft is very much afraid of the tyranny of the majorities. For twenty years here in New York State, in the efforts to get social and industrial justice, we have suffered from the tyranny of a small minority. We have been denied . . . as in the bakeshop case, where the courts set aside the

[12] *Outlook*, V. 100 (March 16, 1912), 563.
[13] *Review of Reviews*, XLV (May 1912), 567–568.

law limiting the hours of labor in bakeries—the due process clause again as in the Workmen's Compensation Act, as in the tenement house cigar factory case—in all these and many other cases we have been denied by small minorities, by a few men of wrong political philosophy on the bench, the right to protect our own people and their lives, their liberty and their pursuit of happiness.[14]

If Mr. Roosevelt had given this version at Columbus in place of the sweeping condemnation of the courts, he would have saved himself much trouble—and, some very powerful political friends. Roosevelt regarded himself as exceptionally well-qualified to speak on the courts and social justice. His remedy, he said, was not the result of a library study of Constitutional Law, but of actual and long-continued experience in the use of governmental power to redress social and industrial ills.[15]

Subsequent to the Columbus and Carnegie Hall speeches, Roosevelt clarified his position on the courts. He preferred the Massachusetts plan whereby a judge might be removed by a simple majority of both houses of the legislature. He felt called upon to add, however, that any system that removed bad judges and placed good judges on the bench was a good system.[16] Obviously the former President often spoke impulsively and illogically. Late in the campaign he declared in a speech at Denver that he would be glad to have the recall applied to the President of the United States. He did not explain whether he meant the office or Mr. Taft. Somewhat later in a speech at Phoenix, Arizona, Roosevelt said, "I would go even farther than the Progressive platform. I should like to have the recall applied to everybody, including the President".[17]

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[14] *New York Times*, March 21, 1912, 1–2. Chas. Washburn, *Roosevelt*, 225–226.

[15] *Outlook*, V. 100 (March 30, 1912), 727. Senator Bristow of Kansas gave his interpretation of Roosevelt's recall proposal: "If I properly understand what Colonel Roosevelt advocates, I am with him. His proposal . . . is that if the Legislature of a State passes a law, which is approved by the Governor and becomes a statute . . . and the Supreme Court of that State . . . declares it to be unconstitutional . . . , upon petitions at the next general election the question shall be submitted to the people for them to determine whether the law . . . shall stand, or whether the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court shall continue to stand. In other words, the people shall determine whether the law so enacted shall stand and the Constitution be so modified as not to be repugnant to it. Since the people themselves make the Constitution . . . if, in their judgment, it ought to be so modified, I believe the people ought to have that opportunity."

[16] *Outlook*, V. 100 (March 30, 1912), 721. Roosevelt said, "I would not make the people the final judge in legal questions between individuals, but I would make the people the final umpire [where a state court declared an act of the legislature unconstitutional] . . . ."

[17] *Nation*, V. 95 (September 26, 1912), 276–277.

President Taft was unalterably opposed to the recall. He insisted that he could see no "great instances of social injustice" arising from any crippling decisions by the courts, though he admitted his disagreement with the reasoning of certain courts in certain cases involving social reform statutes. President Taft, however, did make a constructive suggestion: "Create a tribunal for the removal of judges for cause. Give them an opportunity to be heard . . . but do not create a system by which, in the heat of disappointment over a lost cause, the defeated litigants are to decide without further hearing whether the judge who decides against them is to continue in office." Roosevelt, however, had specifically excluded cases in ordinary law between persons.[18]

President Taft, of course, had already registered his complete disapproval of the recall in his message vetoing the Joint Resolution for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to statehood. The provision in the Arizona constitution providing recall elections for judges was condemned by Taft as contrary to good government. "A mere difference of opinion," he said, "as to the wisdom of details in a state constitution ought not to lead me to set up my opinion against that of the people of the Territory . . . . But when such a constitution contains something so destructive of free government as the judicial recall, it should be disapproved." In Taft's opinion the recall was the negation of popular government. Every limitation imposed by the people in their constitution upon the power of the majority is an admission that the majority cannot always be trusted; the recall is a device to encourage people to strike while the iron is hot. A judge should not be subject to the momentary will of the people. Let the people pass on his record after a long tenure. The impeachment, Taft said, is the proper remedy for bad judges.[19]

Woodrow Wilson regarded the judicial recall with strong disfavor. "The ancient traditions of a people are its ballast and you must knit the new into the old." Wilson believed the judiciary's sense of dignity is essential to the stability of the state. "To apply to them the principle of recall is to set up the idea that determinations of what the law is must respond to popular impulse."[20]

Wilson did favor the initiative and referendum, but "I have never favored the recall of judges because they are not administra-

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18 *Outlook*, V. 100 (March 3, 1912), 604. *New York Times*, March 9, 912, p. 1.

19 *Cong. Record*, XLVII, pt. iv, 62 Cong. 1st Session, 3964–3965.

20 *Nation*, V. 95 (October 3, 1912), 300.

tive officers . . . . My idea is to abolish laws that make it possible for special interests to control the judiciary."[21]

The Trust Question

Possibly the greatest success of the Taft administration was its anti-trust program, so ably managed by Attorney-General George W. Wickersham. Taft believed that the Sherman law should be allowed to stand as originally written; he spoke of it as the effort of a freedom-loving people to preserve equality of opportunity. In a message to Congress, December 4, 1911, devoted exclusively to the trust question, President Taft urged the enactment of a Federal Incorporation Act; this would provide for the voluntary incorporation under federal supervision of corporations doing an interstate business. Somehow, Taft believed, that corporations would find it to their advantage to take out Federal charters.[22]

Attorney-General Wickersham advanced a three-point program as a basis for a national anti-trust policy. First, enforce the Sherman law against all great combinations, break them up, thereby removing the danger of monopoly. Second, eliminate agreements in restraint of trade among competing firms. Third, adopt federal incorporation with a commission similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission to eliminate abuses and to encourage legitimate competition.[23]

President Taft was in deadly earnest in his determination to dissolve the great trusts and brought dissolution suits against both the United States Steel Corporation (October 26, 1911) and the International Harvester Corporation (April 29, 1912).[24] Politically these prosecutions were of vital importance to Taft's political fortunes, as an important segment of big business threw its support to Roosevelt. The campaign to ruin President Taft and replace him with Roosevelt was taken over and directed by a former J. Pierpont Morgan partner, a long-time friend and intimate of Theodore Roosevelt, a lawyer by the name of George W. Perkins, who had played a leading role in the creation of the Northern Securities Company,

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21 *New York Times*, February 13, 1912, p. 5; *Outlook*, V. 98 (August 26, 1912), 943–951.

22. *Cong. Record*, 62 Cong. 2 Session, Vol., XLVIII (December 4, 1911 to January 17, 1912), 21–24.

23 *Century*, LXI (February 1912), 616. *Nation*, Vol. 89 (July 15, 1909), 43. *Harper's Weekly*, LVI (June 22, 1912), 9–10.

24 *Outlook*, Vol. 99 (November 4, 1911), 547. *New York Times*, January 25, 1912, p. 2. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1912, p. 9; *Ibid.*, May 1, 1912, p. 6. Hansborough, *The Wreck*, 130.

the United States Steel Corporation, and the International Harvester Corporation. Among other Roosevelt supporters of the Perkins' school of thought were Dan Hanna, son of the late Mark Hanna, and Frank Munsey, the publisher; these were the principal financial supporters of the Roosevelt boom. Perkins apparently decided to emulate Mark Hanna, not to save the country from free silver, but to stave off the threatened dissolution of the great trusts. Early in 1911 Perkins announced his retirement from active business management, though he retained his directorships in both United States Steel and the International Harvester Corporations.[25]

These associations gave rise to the charge that Perkins was the representative of the Morgan interests in politics and that Roosevelt was the Morgan candidate. That Mr. Perkins was acting on the orders of Mr. Morgan cannot, of course, be proved. Many people in 1912 concluded that Woodrow Wilson was not obligated to any special group and a freer candidate than Mr. Roosevelt. Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, when asked about the political interests of the corporation, replied, "There is no foundation for the statement that our corporation or any of its officers, or any one in authority has done or said anything to favor or oppose the nomination of anyone for president. We keep out of politics."[26]

The motivation for Perkins' tremendous political activity in 1912 lies in the fact that men like himself and Judge Gary saw the dissolution of their great trusts as an imminent prospect. Something had to be done, and this very quickly. Taft with his affection for *laissez faire* and competition must be disposed of before it was too late; a second term in the White House might mean that Taft would dissolve all of the so-called trusts.

The Perkins and Gary school of thought wisely saw the need for an alternative. The solution was Federal regulation. Such thinking was not new to Perkins who was an original advocate of the Bureau of Corporations, established early in Roosevelt's first term. The return to free competition was impossible, Perkins declared in an address at the Michigan College of Mines, because it had given us sweatshops, child labor, unemployment, low wages, and panic.[27] His greatest fear was state regulation. Perkins said, "There is scarcely a corporation manager of today . . . who would

[25] *Review of Reviews,* XLIII (January 1911), 18–19. *Ibid.,* XLV (April 1921), 425. *New York Times,* January 25, 1912, p. 2.
[26] *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 20, 1912.
[27] *Outlook,* Vol. 98 (August 19, 1911), 851.

not welcome . . . [Federal] supervision . . . . But to be faced with the requirement to report to and be supervised and regulated by forty or more state governments with varying ideas and laws, suggests difficulties that are almost insurmountable obstacles." This explains the principal animus of Perkins' role as a public speaker and president-maker.[28] Hecklers frequently challenged Roosevelt on his relationship with Perkins, architect of great trusts. The newspapers of 1912 demonstrate that Colonel Roosevelt was equal to these occasions.[29]

Judge Elbert H. Gary, of the Steel Corporation, was thoroughly alarmed over the general situation. In a public speech in New York City, February 11, 1912, he said that "things are being said and printed similar to the incendiary speeches which aroused the peasants of France and caused the French Revolution.[30] Presumably he had in mind the numerous speeches of La Follette and Brandeis;[31] the latter in particular was an effective public critic of the Steel Corporation. Gary, Perkins, and others of this group supported Roosevelt, despite certain fads and fancies, because he was generally sound on the trust question. Roosevelt was also consistent in that in 1912 he was preaching the same doctrine as laid down in his first annual message, December 3, 1901.[32]

A most interesting development was a bill submitted by Judge Gary to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the United States Senate. The provided for a commission with extensive power over the larger interstate corporations, even to the extent of giving it the power to fix maximum prices. Senator Cummins, the Iowa insurgent, who had collaborated with Gary to an extent, opposed the price-fixing feature. Men like Cummins wanted a return to competition; they wanted to avoid, if possible, the regulated monopoly advocated by Judge Gary.[33]

No issue in 1912 was more thoroughly discussed than the question of the fate of the great corporations. Two congressional committees held public hearings where many of the leaders of industry testified. Governor Wilson discreetly remained in the background while Roosevelt and Taft attacked each other so bitterly. Wilson's

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[28] *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 18, 1912.
[29] *Ibid.,* August 18, 1911.
[30] *New York Times,* February 11, 1912, p. 9. Shelby M. Cullon, *Fifty Years of Public Service,* 292.
[31] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* January 5, 1912.
[32] Theodore Roosevelt, *State Papers as Governor and President* (1899–1909), 87.
[33] *New York Times,* January 24, 1912, p. 1.

point of emphasis on the trust question was that guilt was always personal; the fiction of the corporation as a legal person, Wilson declared, was unsound.

The New York Times was probably near the truth when it observed that most of the hue and the cry about the trust question would evaporate overnight, if President Taft "would send word to the right persons that the proceedings against the United States Steel Corporation are not to be pushed, and that criminal indictments against numerous captains of industry will in due time be dismissed."[34]

The principal conclusion which may be drawn from furor over the trusts in 1912 is that it paved the way for some excellent legislation in President Wilson's first term.

The Arbitration Treaties

In conformity with his devotion to the principle of arbitration in international affairs President Taft submitted to the Senate treaties with Great Britian and France. The foreign relations committee reported these treaties favorably, deleting, however, a clause providing that in case the signatories could not agree whether a case is arbitrable to submit the question for a final decision to a joint high commission.[35] Roosevelt's influence was a strong factor against these ill-fated treaties. He not only refused to attend a New York peace dinner at which President Taft was the speaker, but condemned the affairs as an attempt to intimidate the Senate. Roosevelt's part in the emasculation of these treaties by the Senate was regarded as another cause for the final disruption of the famous Roosevelt-Taft friendship.[36] Anglophobes were particularly incensed that President Taft should attend a meeting of the Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes (December 16, 1911). At this meeting the editor of the *London Economist* read a letter of friendship from the Lord Chancellor of England, and Mr. Taft intimated that the United States was ready to submit to an international tribunal any issue that could not be settled by arbitration, "no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money."[37]

Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, dealt the treaties a hard blow

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[34] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1912, p. 2.

[35] *The Nation*, V. 92 (June 1, 1911), 546–547. *Ibid.*, V. 93 (August 17, 1911), 136.

[36] *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, January 1, 1912. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 1, 1912.

[37] *Annual Register* (for the year 1911), 450.

when he called the attention of the Senate to a recent Parliamentary speech by Sir Edward Grey.[38] In his speech the English foreign minister said that "the great nations were in bondage to their armies and navies, and might discover that law was better than force. At any rate, [he said] President Taft's speech should not be left without response." Furthermore, Grey declared, that "two nations agreeing to submit their differences to arbitration might still be exposed to attack by a third, and would probably make a further agreement to join each other in any case in which one only had a quarrel with a third power in which arbitration was refused." Sir Edward made specific reference to German naval expansion. "A frank exchange of information," he said, "would guard against surprise. As far as he could see the chief hope lay in inducing nations to appeal to law instead of to force. Arbitration could really touch this great question."[39] Such frank, though gloomy, analysis of the subject was stronger medicine than the United States Senate was willing to accept.[40] The arbitration treaties courageously advocated by Taft were a case of a good cause being used as a weapon to discredit the advocate.

Canadian Reciprocity

President Taft's insistence that Congress should adopt his Canadian Reciprocity measure was another case of urging an unpopular cause. American manufacturers favored lowering the trade barriers on our northern frontier. Such a step would lead to the importation of large quantities of Canadain farm products to the United States' market and open the Canadian market to American manufactured products. It was argued that farm prices, particularly the price of wheat, were fixed by the world market; since the Canadian farmer had a large European market this concession to the Canadian farmer would not be damaging. At the same time a large Canadian demand for American manufactured goods would furnish American factory workers greater employment, thereby indirectly though in a very real sense, aiding the American farmer. But arguments for Canadian reciprocity, no matter how valid in 1911 and 1912, were bitterly opposed by the farmers in the "insurgent belt." A telling blow against

[38] *Cong. Record*, XLVIII, pt. ii, 62 Cong. 2 Session.
[39] *Annual Register* (for the year 1911), 51–52.
[40] *The Nation*, V. 94 (March 7, 1912), 252. Both Governors Wilson and Harmon favored the treaties; only three Democratic Senators gave their support.

Taft was the insurgent observation that if the President believed so heartily in tariff reform, he should have given a better demonstration of this principle in the Payne-Aldrich tariff battle of 1909. Such errors as the Winona speech were now recalled to plague Taft. Though Congress did enact Taft's Canadian reciprocity measure, in Canada the Liberal Prime Minister, Sir Wilfred Laurier, went down to defeat in a general election on this issue. Canadian sensibilities had been aroused by too much bombast on the American side of the border. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, said from the floor of the House that he favored Taft's measure because he hoped "to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of British North American possessions clear to the North Pole." Whatever the effect of Clark's indiscretion on the Canadian mind, some very unemotional Canadians were thinking in terms of economics and not politics; these detected incipient trends in reciprocity not to their liking. Two factors, in particular, caused them to reject reciprocity with the United States: first, reciprocity might weaken empire ties; second, the newly developed east-west trade of Canada might be checked by the rise of a more vigorous north-south trade with the United States. Definitely Taft's vigorous fight hurt him with the Republican insurgents, already sore because Taft for a time had deprived them of their patronage. Roosevelt, when first confronted with the issue, favored it, but as he came to observe insurgent sentiment, he quickly shifted. Without regard to the inherent merits of Canadian reciprocity, President Taft was not the practical politician when he made the fight for it.[41]

Several conclusions may be drawn from the outcome of the battle of 1912. The Bull Moose heresy had the effect of purging the Republican party of its progressive element and causing many progressive Republicans to desert to the Democrats in the years to come. Future Republican insurgency tended strongly toward narrow economic nationalism and isolationism. As far as the anti-trust issue was concerned the main questions were stranded in the quagmire of personal controversy between Roosevelt and Taft. Possibly the most affirmative outcome was the clearing of the political road for

41 *The Nation*, V. 92 (February 23, 1911), 181. Henry Clay Hansborough, *The Wreck*, 135. *Outlook*, XCVII (January 28, 1911), 145–148. *Review of Reviews*, XLIV (September 1911), 259. Albert R. Carmen, "Will Canada Be Lost?" in *Living Age*, CCLXX (July 15, 1911), 131–137. Andrew McPhail, "How Canada Looks at American Tariff Making," in *Review of Reviews*, XXIX (January 1909), 84. H. F. Pringle, *Roosevelt*, 550–551.

Woodrow Wilson's great legislative program in his first term. In the realm of international relations, the debate over the arbitration treaties was a factor in placing the United States senate on guard against internationalism as embodied in the League of Nations covenant. Finally, in the battle of 1912, Theodore Roosevelt set the stage for Big Government by urging that social justice—a better deal for the common man—must be achieved mainly through a program undertaken through the leadership of the national government. Roosevelt's attack on the courts was inspired by his desire to achieve social justice through legislative processes and his hatred for any agency which stood athwart the path toward this goal. The advocacy of judicial reform had no immediate result, save possibly the Judiciary Act of 1914, but it may have been a source of inspiration to Franklin D. Roosevelt in a later era.

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The Magazine Press and Cuba, 1906-1933

Hardly anyone is unacquainted with the part played by the press of the United States in the liberation of Cuba from Spain. So roiled were the political waters over the question of the annexation of Cuba and the Philippines as test cases for either an imperialist or a Monroeist policy that little was the wonder when such a hybrid dictum as the Platt Amendment emerged in the Cuban constitution. The whole conduct of the Cuban affair indicated our wavering between annexing the island and allowing it to be free.

When the United States withdrew its physical controls from Cuba in 1902, many expressions of disappointment appeared in newspapers and in periodicals, and the desire to annex Cuba outright was still strong in many hearts by 1906. It will not be the purpose of this paper to consider newspaper opinion during the years of the "occupation" of Cuba by means of the Platt Amendment, but rather to investigate the attitude expressed in the periodical literature of this country from 1906 to the abrogation of the Platt Amendment.

The rich and strategic island had, to be sure, been the subject of magazine articles long before 1906. Between 1902 and August, 1906, Tomás Estrada Palma had held the presidency as a conservative, but when he was re-elected, a revolution flared, in consequence of which American troops and Provisional Governor William H. Taft took charge. What did the periodical press have to say about the turn of events? An examination of the magazines of the period reveals that what was written about Cuba depended not only upon the policy backed by the individual magazine, but also upon its general type.[1] Magazines in the group regarded as

[1] The following magazines, published in New York unless otherwise noted, were used in the section on the popular press: *America; American Review of Reviews; Atlantic Monthly* (Boston); *Bulletin Pan American Union* (Washington); *Business Week; Catholic World; Century; Chautauquan* (Chautauqua); *Christian Century* (Chicago); *Collier's; Commonweal; Current History; Current Literature; Current Opinion; Eclectic; Foreign Affairs; Forum; Hampton; Harper's Weekly; Independent; Lippincott's* (Philadelphia); *Literary Digest; Living Age* (Boston); *McClure's; Missionary Review of the World; Nation; National Geographic* (Washington); *New Republic; Newsweek; North American Review; Outlook; Overland Monthly* (Los Angeles); *Pan American; Public; Putnam's; Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia); *Scientific American; Scribner's; St. Nicholas; Time; World Today* (Chicago); *World Tomorrow; World's Work; Yale Review* (New Haven).

"popular" had a largely different outlook from that of the "non-popular" or "professional" type. The volume of articles and editorials published in the former far exceeded that in the non-popular periodicals.

The Popular Press

A tabulation of articles on Cuba in the popular press, made from the listings in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* through the years 1906–1933, shows a lack of constant interest in Cuban affairs.[2] While forty-seven articles and editorials appeared in 1906 and eighty-nine in 1933, the average number for the intervening years was about ten. In fifteen of the years, ten or less selections on the island republic were available to general readers. Moreover, news about Cuba was almost invariably relegated to places of less prominence in the magazines, especially during the World War I period when in five years only twenty-five articles appeared.

The reaction of the pontiffs of the popular periodicals to the political unheaval of 1906 was clear, and in the main opportunistic. Many advocated annexation; and occasionlly they suggested the distince possibility of annexation "[if] the Cuban people were clearly incapable of governing themselves decently, or if they should ask for [annexation]."[3] One author, developing this same line of reasoning common to expansionists, expressed doubt that the Cubans were capable of self-government.[4] He was of the opinion that they were a backward people possessing an island of great potential value. Americans, he declared, had been responsible for what little development there was, and the same was true for whatever blessings of civilization that existed. It would be Americans who would furnish Cuba with a continuation of the same. Political annexation was not necessary; instead he visualized commercial annexation, and thus expanded the Blaine policy of commercial tieups with Latin America.

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2 The following compilation indicated the number of articles and editorials published each year:
1906 (47); 1907 (11); 1908 (11); 1909 (14); 1910 (13); 1911 (10); 1912 (20); 1913 (13); 1914 (6); 1915 (1); 1916 (4); 1917 (10); 1918 (4); 1919 (10); 1920 (10); 1921 (11); 1922 (4); 1923 (9); 1924 (8); 1925 (8); 1926 (4); 1927 (7); 1928 (10); 1929 (20); 1930 (20); 1931 (26); 1932 (13); 1933 (89).

3. "The Rebellion in Cuba," *Independent*, LXI (August 30, 1906). No. 3013, 528–529.

4 Frederick Upham Adams, "Cuba, Its Condition and Outlook," *World's Work*, XIII (November, 1906), No. 1, 8237–8242.

Factories will rear their walls on the outskirts of these quiet and lazy hamlets, and the sons and daughters of the *Cubanos* will obey the call of a bell or whistle and exchange their barefooted liberty for wages. Electric and steam roads will invade every part of the island, the soil will be attacked for its wonderful treasures of crop and fruit, and the Old Cuba will gradually become a memory. It will make place for a Cuba dominated not by sentiment and tradition but by the exigencies of profits and dividends.[5]

When the revolution caused President Estrada Palma to call on the United States for protection of life and property, as guaranteed by the Platt Amendment, the American magazine press broke out in a rash of comment, most of which was unsympathetic and impatient. "[Lack of training] makes it necessary for a neighbor to take them in hand, control, direct, and manage their government and public policy," declared one feature writer.[6] Another writer for the same magazine was also of the opinion that Cubans were not ready for self-government; besides, was not the United States morally obligated to see that order be maintained? "It seems to me, the United States, as guarantor of order under the Paris treaty, must remain in charge of the government of Cuba until a new generation shall arise, a Cuban people who believe that ballots, not bullets, shall govern their island."[7] An editorial in *Outlook* also emphasized the duty aspect of intervention in Cuba. The editorialist made it plain that continued unrest and inability to prevent revolutions would, and should result in Cuba losing her independence.[8]

Not all of the magazine press favoring intervention, favored political annexation. The high percentage of Negroes in the population would cause trouble, some decided. Other magazines mentioned the certain opposition of the United States cane and beet sugar interests. Taking these factors into consideration one article proposed that the United States appoint an American governor with a veto power, and maintain a garrison on the island. Otherwise, the island's sovereignty was to be unimpaired. Nothing, it should be added, was said about what views the Cubans might have concerning the presence of our troops on Cuban soil.[9] An army officer,

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[5] *Ibid.*, 8242.

[6] R. L. Bullard, "How Cubans Differ From Us," *North American Review*, CLXXXVI (November, 1907), No. 624, 416–421.

[7] William Inglis "The Future in Cuba," *North American Review*, CLXXXIII (November 16, 1906), No. 603, 1037–1040.

[8] "America's Duty to Cuba," *Outlook*, LXXXIV (October 6, 1906), 304–306.

[9] "The Problem of Cuba," *Lippincott's Monthly*, LXXXI (January, 1908), No. 481, 142–144.

after surveying the area under consideration, made a somewhat similar suggestion. He was firmly convinced that the solution to the Cuban problem lay in making the island a permanent protectorate.[10] This would please everyone, wrote the naive officer; the "interests" would have no worry about the competition of Cuban products, and the Cubans would be happy because their sovereignty would not be curtailed. This was ridiculous logic, as he also insisted that the United States would have both initiative and veto of legislation in the island.

The magazine press also had its carping critics. One editorialist denounced Estrada Palma as a coward, and deplored the fact that he was not a "strong man" who could have "suppressed the revolt."[11] This editorial revealed a common fault of many of the early writings on Cuba: a plethora of strong-worded criticism, and yet a total absence of appreciation for Cuban problems, and a lack of constructive suggestions, other than "big-sticking" the trouble makers.

The Cubans, however, were not without friendly comment in their behalf. Rupert Hughes, in *Harper's Weekly,* came ably to their defense. He pointed out that those carpers who ridiculed the Cubans in their efforts at self-government ought to examine United States history. For every blemish or weakness in Cuba's history, Hughes could see a parallel in our own history. He asked his readers not to be too critical of the Cubans or their institutions. His conclusions were aimed at those who wished to be their brother's keeper: we resent outside interference, yet insist on interfering in Cuba; also, we had enough blotches on our escutcheon without adding "busybody, hypocrite, and bully."[12]

Another writer urged annexation enthusiasts to consider the subject from a standpoint of economics and practicality. In the first place, the United States had pledged itself not to annex the island. Secondly, the polyglot and illiterate population would be of doubtful value as a corporate part of the American Union. A third consideration was the preponderance of Catholicism. A fourth, and economic consideration, would be the competition of Cuban sugar, tobacco, fruit and garden products with similar products in the United States. They would hardly be accorded an enthusiastic

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[10] John H. Parker, "How the Cuban Problem Might Be Solved," *American Review of Reviews,* XXXVII (January, 1908), No. 1, 65–70.

[11] "Cuba and President Palma," *Independent,* LXI (October 11, 1906), No. 3019, 886–887.

[12] Rupert Hughes, "Shall We Meddle With Cuba?" *Harper's Weekly,* L (September 8, 1906), No. 2594, 1277–1278.

welcome by the interested parties. And lastly, it would be necessary to maintain an armed force to subjugate the island to American rule.[13]

A number of magazines thought they espied "interests" in the woodpile of the 1906 revolution. The *Independent* declared in an editorial that its editors were of the firm conviction that Americans owning Cuban sugar and tobacco properties instigated the revolution, hoping for annexation (thereby to avoid the tariff, and be assured of constant property protection), but that the Cuban people themselves did not want annexation. The editorial praised Roosevelt's note which told the Cuban government that it must behave itself if it wished to avoid intervention.[14] On this matter of the "interests" and the 1906 revolution there were disagreement among the magazine press contributors. An editorial in *American Review of Reviews* pooh-poohed the suggestion that the revolution was a contrived affair to encourage annexation sentiment.[15]

During the same period, a religious publication carried an article with an unusual approach to the matter of intervention. Military intervention, the author pointed out, was useful only for the protection of life and property, "but for the real pacification of Cuba, her internal development and her stable prosperity, the American church must provide in her schools, her Bibles, her Sabbaths, her missionaries, and her sanctified homes."[16]

The magazine press frequently carried cartoons on Cuba. It is interesting to observe that many times the Cubans were represented as Negroes or pickaninnies. This tendency might have been a reflection of American sentiment. It will be remembered that the race issue was one of the principal reasons why annexation was opposed.[17]

During the 1906 intervention Charles Magoon was installed as governor by the Americans. His regime was thoroughly criticized

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[13] John W. Foster, "The Annexation of Cuba," *Independent*, LXI (Oct. 25, 1906), No. 3012, 965–968.

[14] "Cuba and the United States," *Independent*, LXI (September 20, 1906), No. 3016, 701–702. For similar views, see: Atherton Brownell, "The Cuban Republic on Trial," *American Review of Reviews*, XXXIV (October, 1906), No. 4, 424–430. Brownell pointed out that the 1906 revolt began in the province where the tobacco "trust" was heavily interested.

[15] "Progress of the World," *American Review of Reviews*, XXXIV (October, 1906), No. 4, 387–393.

[16] J. Milton Greene, "What Americans Have Done in Cuba," *Missionary Review of the World*, XXX (August, 1907), No. 8, 595–597.

[17] For cartoons of this nature, see: *Current Literature*, XLI (November, 1906), No. 5, 488; *Literary Digest*, XLIV (June 22, 1912), No. 25, 1282; *Current Literature*, LIII (July, 1912), No. 1, 22.

by several leading periodicals for its graft, corruption, lack of foresight, playing politics, and mismanagement.[18] One author claimed that the Americans had so abused Cuba that where the Cubans formerly would have welcomed annexation, the excesses of Magoon's administration had alienated the majority of them.[19] Even though this author had nothing but contempt for Magoon, he also had little love for the Cubans, and flatly stated that Cuban soldiers and officers were cowards.

> As a mass, [the Cuban people] are a degenerate race, talking all the instincts of civic pride or honor and utterly disregarding all moral obligations to themselves. This mass of degeneracy will always hold the balance of power and be able to overthrow any government that can be established on the island, if the management of the revenues is left to the natives.[20]

Hence, he reasoned, let the Cubans govern themselves, but let the United States administer the finances, see that the legitimate cost of government was met, and that Cuban resources were conserved for future generations. An editorial in another magazine suggested a slightly different arrangement: The United States should not be too hasty about getting out of Cuba; instead it should stay and train the Cubans.[21]

Meanwhile, the American magazine press was engaged in a little wishful thinking, and finding pleasure in shaking the Big Stick. *Harper's Weekly* declared editorially that if the U. S. was forced to intervene a third time, Cuba would have to give up her sovereignty—and that no one could blame the United States for taking it from her.[22] An editorial in *Independent* loudly praised America's peaceful and altruistic motives, and self-denial in the past. But if a third intervention was necessary, then "we" would "probably" stay. The editorialist found pompous justification for such a course: "We have thus far denied ourselves our own national ambition and our interests as masters of the neighboring Panama Canal; we shall be under no obligation to deny ourselves further. It would be better for Cuba, better for us, better for the world."[23]

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[18] An example: "The Cuban Evacuation," *Nation*, LXXXVII (September 3, 1908), No. 2253, 198–199.

[19] Walter Wigdill, "Addition Without Division=Revolution," *Independent*, LXXII (June 20, 1912), No. 3316, 1352–1356.

[20] *Ibid.*, 1356.

[21] "The Cuban Evacuation," *Nation*, LXXXVII (September 3, 1908), No. 2253, 198–199.

[22] "Our Intervention in Cuba," *Harper's Weekly*, L (October 13, 1906), No. 2599, 1450–1451.

[23] "Evacuation of Cuba," *Independent*, LXVI (January 7, 1909), No. 3136, 57–58.

This conception of a third intervention as being a last straw was very popular with the magazine press.[24] It began in 1906, and died a reluctant death when troop landings in 1912 and 1917 did not prove permanent. Another cherished sentiment that the editors clung to until the middle twenties concerned annexation. Usually this was accompanied by criticism of Cuban efforts at self-government, and sometimes the latter appeared alone, or with the hint that American patience was flagging. Some suggested outright annexation; others favored Cuba as a protectorate. Still a third group would establish a Cuban government with final control in the hands of the United States.[25]

Not all the magazines urged meddling in Cuban affairs; in fact some magazines carrying editorials advocating intervention, also carried articles strongly favoring Cuban nationalism. One author declared that the United States had no business interfering in Cuba, as that island would be perfectly able to work out her own destiny. He went further and proposed that United States tourists in Cuba improve their manners, stop swaggering, refrain from passing slighting comparisons, and cease stating that it was only a matter of time before the United States would take over Cuba.[26] Another author suggested that despite graft and other disagreeable features of Cuban politics, these excesses could be outgrown, and, with the passage of time, there would come a steady dependable govern-

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[24] Illustrations of this can be found in Frederick Upham Adams, "Cuba, Its Condition and Outlook," *World's Work*, XIII (November, 1906), No. 1, 8237–8242; "The Situation in Cuba," *Nation*, LXXXIII (September 20, 1906), No. 2151, 236; H. A. Austin, "Cuba's Future," *North American Review*, CLXXXIX (June 1909), No. 643, 857–863; Forbes Lindsay, "Curbing Cuba," *Independent*, LXXII (January 25, 1912), No. 3295, 185–186; "Independence or Impudence," *Outlook*, CXXXIV (August 29, 1923), No. 15, 654–655.

[25] Representative of the various recommendations for U. S. control over the Cubans are the following: "Cuba, the Problem," *Independent*, LXVI (April 29, 1909), No. 3152, 926–927; H. A. Austin, "Cuba's Future," *North American Review*, CLXXXIX (June, 1909), No. 643, 857–863; "The Warning to Cuba," *Independent*, LXXII (Jan. 25, 1912), No. 3295, 208–209; W. M. Kennedy, "Revolution in Cuba," *Living Age*, CCLXXVI (Feb. 22, 1913), No. 3581, 463–468; George Marvin, "Keeping Cuba Libre," *World's Work*, XXXIV (September, 1917), No. 5, 553–567; Herbert J. Spinden, "Shall the United States Intervene in Cuba?" *World's Work*, XLI (March, 1912), No. 5, 465–483; Lawrence F. Abbott, "Cuba," *Outlook*, CXXXV (December 26, 1923), No. 17, 710–712; Henry K. Norton, "The Price of Liberty in Cuba," *World's Work*, LI (November, 1925), No. 1, 80–84; Forbes Lindsay, "Curbing Cuba," *Independent*, LXXII (January 25, 1912), No. 3295, 185–186.

[26] Caspar Whitney, "Cuba Fulfilling Its Promise," *Collier's*, XLV (July 2, 1910), No. 15, 19–20.

ment.[27] Efforts were also made to show that American intentions toward Cuba were honorable: "It is only for this purpose that intervention is permissible, only for the preservation of Cuba's independence, never for its destruction."[28] It should be noted, however, that magazine press opinion favoring meddling was more prolific than that favoring letting Cuba alone. Only twenty-nine articles and editorials of over four hundred examined, praised the Cubans for their attempts at self-government and/or insisted that the United States maintain a hands-off policy. On the other hand, forty-two articles and editorials favored intervention, political control and/or economic imperialism. Sometime after the troops were withdrawn following the 1917 intervention, the advocates of annexation must have lost hope, especially after the inauguration of the good will policy and the desertion of imperialism. Like the proverbial Arab, they quietly folded their tents and disappeared into the night.

Meanwhile, the years of the first World War passed and Cuba prospered. Speculation and the artificial market conditions during the war had driven the price of sugar up to dizzying heights. But with the return of peace the market broke, and the price began to tumble. A slight rise in market prices in 1922 and 1923 proved to be a false dawn of prosperity. The price fell until it reached the abysmal level of a half-cent a pound, whereas during the early and lush months of 1920 it had been twenty-three cents a pound. There did seem to be a way out of the economic morass in 1924, when General Geraldo Machado y Morales was elected on a reform ticket. Past administrations had been notable mainly for perfecting more forms of graft than had the preceeding regime.

There would be changes, announced Machado. First there would be reform. Next, he would favor a public works building program that would pull Cuba out of stagnation by its economic bootstraps. Several members of the American magazine press applauded the new Cuban president. At a time when the comparison was not considered a form of reproach, Machado was likened favorably with Mussolini.[29] Another author called him the "Theodore Roosevelt

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[27] Sydney Brooks, "Cuba and the Cuban Question," *North American Review*, CXCVI (July, 1912), No. 680, 52–62. See also same author, "The Truth About Cuba," *Independent*, LXXI (November 30, 1911), No. 3287, 1193–1197.

[28] "A Cuban View of the Platt Amendment," *American Review of Reviews*," LVI (November, 1917), No. 5, 539–540.

[29] William E. Shea, "Machado, a Caribbean Mussolini?" *Independent*, CXVII (March 5, 1927), No. 4005, 261–262.

of Cuba."[30] Still another, in an article that could say nothing against the Cuban President, looked upon Machado as the "coming man" among Caribbean republics.[31] It was not long, however, before the honeymoon was over, and soon Machado had many members of the American magazine press sniping away at his dictatorial tendencies. A writer in the *Nation* pointed out that whereas previous interventions were considered necessary for the protection of American lives and property, now intervention would be perfectly justifiable to rectify the condition of individual liberty. But, the writer added, this never occurred to anyone, and the despot Machado could continue justifying any excesses—such as the assassination of labor leaders or the editors of anti-Machado newspapers—as being a prevention of disorder, and thereby escape punishment.[32] The same journal, in an editorial the following year, again raised the same issue for consideration.[33] The *New Republic,* by the middle of 1931, came out flatly in favor of intervention for the purpose of setting Cuba free, in case Machado did not change his ways.[34] An earlier editorial had pointed out how quickly the Coolidge administration had been aroused when American property rights appeared to be in jeopardy, but how indifferent it had been to violation of civil liberty on the island. The hope expressed was that Hoover would "take an attitude more in accord with the letter and spirit of our obligation."[35]

By summer of 1931, the *Nation* was so hostile to Machado that it stated in an editorial: "Perhaps never in modern history was there a country so sorely in need of a wise and sound revolution as is Cuba today."[36] The editorial concluded with a plea for non-intervention if such a revolution should occur: "The State Department should make its position clear. It should declare that it will not intervene in any revolt of the Cubans against their monstrous dictator."[37] By the following year, the same periodical had fresh ammunition. Re-

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30 Isaac F. Marcosson, "Cuba Libre," *Saturday Evening Post,* CIC (April 23, 1927), No. 43, 14–15+.

31 Samuel Crowther, "A New Deal for Cuba," *World's Work,* LIV (June, 1927), No. 2, 208–213.

32 Lewis S. Gannett, "Shadows of Cuba," *Nation,* CXXVI (February 22, 1928), No. 3268, 209–210.

33 "We and Cuba" *Nation,* CXXVIII (May 1, 1929), No. 3330, 523.

34 "Cuba and the Bankers," *New Republic,* LXVI (May 6, 1931), No. 857, 316. For the antithesis of this view, see: "Intervention in Cuba," by Thomas H. Healy, *America,* XLIV (March 7, 1931), No. 22, 523–524.

35 "The Week," *New Republic,* LVIII (March 13, 1929), No. 745, 82.

36 "Cuba Revolts Again," *Nation,* CXXXIII (Aug. 26, 1931), No. 3451, 197–198.

37 *Ibid.,* 198.

ferring to Machado as the "boot-licker" of Wall Street financiers, the *Nation* turned its editorial guns on the State Department for allowing the dictator to remain in power, and for shielding him with the Platt Amendment. In spite of a terrible economic depression, Machado made sure that Cuban government obligations to foreigners were paid when they fell due. For this reason he was supported by the investment interests in this country, and by the agency which *Nation* felt was catering to them, the State Department.[38]

By the following winter, other periodicals were referring to the unholy alliance of Machado and the "interests": "The colossal efforts made by President Machado to prevent defaulting . . . probably constitute the greatest single factor that keeps him in office."[39] The *Nation* kept up its unceasing clamor against the dictator and his "allies":

> Machado has been the servant of American banking and power interests. Between them, with a complacent State Department, they have maintained a government 'adequate for the *destruction* of life, liberty and individual property' . . . have exploited the Cuban people, and have betrayed the good name, faith, and interest of the American people.[40]

The *Christian Century* went even further in its condemnation:

> . . . For the last seven years the United States has not only stood for Machado; it has supported him to the limit. Mr. Lamont, the House of Morgan, is credited with having said, at a banquet given Machado in New York, "We do not care by what means, but we should like to see such a good administrator remain in power." Mr. Coolidge went to Havana to inform the Cubans that their progress under Machado "has commanded universal respect and admiration." Mr. Woodin, the present secretary of the treasury, and a heavy investor in Cuba, also praised Machado to the skies. Until Mr. Roosevelt came into office and Mr. Welles took over the embassy in Havana there was never, during all the years of Machado's bloody misgovernment, the slightest reason for any Cuban to doubt that the United States was committed to maintaining him in power with all its overwhelming resources.[41]

World Tomorrow was also of the opinion that the United States should oust Machado, but differed as to means. An editorial sug-

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[38] "Cuba in Torment," *Nation*, CXXXV (Oct. 12, 1932), No. 3510, 323.

[39] Walter E. Hardin, "The Quandaries of Cuba," *Commonweal*, XVII (Jan. 25, 1933), No. 13, 346–348.

[40] "Cuba and the Future," *Nation*, CXXXVII (August 23, 1933), No. 3555, 199.

[41] "What Do We Want in Cuba?" *Christian Century*, L (Sept. 20, 1933), No. 38, 1166–1168. See also, Carleton Beals, "Young Cuba Rises," *Scribner's*, XCIV (November 1, 1933), No. 5, 267–273.

gested combined Pan-American action to get rid of the dictator peaceably.[42]

Strangely enough there were articles which did not reveal anything wrong with Machado's regime. From reading *Business Week's* infrequent articles on Cuba, one would scarcely know that there was anything reprehensible about the dictator.[43] *Current History* allowed the Cuban minister space to reply to Machado's attackers.[44] The same magazine published an article in May, 1931, which declared that although he did not condone the actions of Machado, the author did feel that the United States was pursuing a wise and sane course, and should continue to do so in her relations with Cuba.[45]

Even at the height of the dictator's ruthless and bloody rule, some writers on Cuban affairs were seemingly unaware of politics, Machadoism, or anything else controversial. One author, remembering that in his youth he had seen Haitian natives using sugar cane "almost exclusively as a diet," hit upon a scheme designed to solve all of Cuba's economic problems.

> . . . Let the United States . . . squeeze the juice from millions of tons of raw sugar cane and serve the inexpensive drink-food to the people. And let it be sold also in sections for a cent or less a foot. A blessing would descend on the people if raw cane were used, as oranges are used, to make a drink for the millions.[46]

When examining the healthfulness of his conception, the author became so ecstatic as to give the reader the distinct impression that drinking sugar cane juice would cure everything but old age, and would postpone that. "Toxic poisons in man's system would be relatively unknown, with all their train of direful diseases." Use of the sugar cane for juice would start a chain reaction of prosperity: cane would be used for juice, causing surplus sugar to disappear. This would bring about a rise in sugar prices, which would put more money into circulation; and with more money in circulation more investments would be made in Cuba. Not content with the prevention of future suffering, the author also conceived a different form of relief for present sufferers. The Cuban fruits and vegetables, he maintained, contained a high content of iodine, which would cure or prevent goiter. The advocacy of a Cuban rest cure

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42 "Cuba Libre," *World Tomorrow*, XVI (February 1, 1933), No. 5, 102.

43 An exception is: "Cuban Intervention," *Business Week*, (February 15, 1933), p. 22.

44 Orestes Ferrar, "A Vindication of the President," *Current History*, XXXII (May, 1930), 263–266.

45 Ernest Gruening, "Cuba Under the Machado Regime," *Current History*, XXXIV (May, 1931), 214–219.

for goiter sufferers was implicit. Yet the author did not mention despotism, political strife, and terrorism then rampant of the island.

Probably the strangest editorial on Machado and Cuba appeared in *Christian Century.* It expressed its firm convictions: (1) the Machado administration was "bad"; (2) the United States would not and should not intervene: (3) revolutions against Machado would not and should not succeed; (4) removing Machado from office by way of election was impossible; and (5) the United States should continue to discourage aid from the continent to the rebels as "we cannot give free rein to filibustering expeditions against a 'friendly power'." The editorial concludes with the blithe observation that the "grievances of the rebels against Machado and his colleagues are still unfinished business for both them and him.[47]

Closely connected with anti-Machado sentiment was discussion of the Platt Amendment. Strangely enough, not until almost the 1930's did the magazine press begin to deem it out of spirit with the new age, or to question its value. The first suggestion for a reconsideration of the Platt Amendment's usefulness came in 1919. An editorial in *Public* pointed out that a dictator could seize control of Cuba and blackmail opposition with the threat of intervention by the United States.[48] Nine years later *Foreign Affairs* announced that the Platt Amendment would be dropped "in time," and when Cuba reached "political maturity."[49]

New Republic emphasized that Machado was using the Amendment as a shield, and that the State Department approved of him, in spite of the "dictatorship which is as ruthless as Mussolini's, but which lacks Mussolini's brains."[50] A feature writer in *Collier's* wrote: "The true and lasting help which the United States can give Cuba is to kill the Platt Amendment and let the little republic . . . really learn to walk. . ."[51]

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[46] Ben Field, "Cuba and Havana and How to Solve the Sugar Problem," *Overland Monthly,* XC (September, 1932), No. 7, 207–208+.

[47] "Cuban Rebellion is Ended—For How Long?" *Christian Century,* XLVIII (August 26, 1931), No. 34, 1060–1061.

[48] "Free Cuba," *Public,* XXII (August 2, 1919), No. 1113, 815–816.

[49] "Cuba and the United States," *Foreign Affairs,* VI (January, 1928), No. 2, 231–244.

[50] "Our Step-Child, Cuba" *New Republic,* LVIII (May 15, 1929), No. 754, 345–347.

[51] William G. Shepherd, "Help Cuba Quickly," *Collier's,* XCI (May 27, 1933), No. 21, 12–13+. Others in same vein: "Our Job in Cuba," *Nation,* CXXXVII (September 20, 1933), No. 3559, 312–313; Jorge Mañach, "Revolution in Cuba," *Foreign Affairs,* XII (October, 1933), No. 1, 46–56; Herbert Herring, "Downfall of Machado," *Current History,* XXXIX (October, 1933), 14–24; Cognosco, "Selections from the Machado," *North American Review,* CCXXXVI (November, 1933), No. 5, 396–398.

With the evil dictator gone the editors had to look elsewhere for copy. They did not have to look long. The State Department had been a convenient target during the Machado regime, and its relations with the dictator's successors were far from satisfactory. The intemperate use of non-recognition was vigorously assailed, and one editorialist declared, "Outright annexation would be far more honest, and in the long run, do far less harm."[52]

The second source of copy on Cuba involved the tariff on sugar. Since it was recognized that the United States was the chief market for Cuban sugar some sort of preferential treatment should be granted the island. Reciprocity agreements were discussed, and attacks were made on the United States sugar refiners. One article singled them out as the group responsible for ruining our Latin American relations, and the exploiter of the American consumer.[53]

It is readily apparent that the period, 1906–1933, closed with a much different attitude toward Cuba than the magazine press had evinced at its beginning. Annexation was as stale as yesterday's fried potatoes, and intervention was being replaced by the Good Neighbor policy. At the beginning of the period the American magazine press had been exceedingly condescending, and grossly indifferent to Cuban feelings. In fact, one is much reminded of the "Cousin Jonathan" attitude of the British press in the years following the Revolutionary War. By 1933 the periodical press regarded the Cubans with more respect and toleration and was inclined to view with critical eye the position of the United States. In the beginning, national self-praise and righteous attitudes prevailed. By the close of the period it was a rare article or editorial that failed to give some individual or group representing the United States a verbal mauling.

Although no individual magazine maintained a consistently good coverage of Cuban affairs, the magazine press as a whole was competent. In reference to fairness, it should be observed that neither individual magazines, nor the press as a whole was consistently on the blackguard side of any issue. The principal fault of the periodical press was the sin of omission. Illustrative of this is the

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52 "Yes, We Have No Imperialism," *Christian Century*, L (Nov. 15, 1933), No. 46, 1428. See, as in same vein: "Will Roosevelt Wreck Cuba?" *World Tomorrow*, XVI (December 7, 1933), No. 28, 651–652.

53 Typical are: Samuel G. Inman, "Which Way in Cuba?" *Christian Century*, L (Oct. 11, 1933; No. 41, 1267–1269; "Imperialism in Action," *World Tomorrow*, XVI (Nov. 9, 1933), No. 26, 607; "Our Job in Cuba," *Nation*, CXXXVII (Sept. 20, 1933), No. 3559, 312–313.

belated recognition of the need for reciprocity agreements, or failure to indicate the multiplicity of the problems confronting the young republic, and the relative neglect of Cuban affairs coverage between revolutions. At the close of the period a more constant interest in Cuban affairs, and a more balanced interpretation of problems and issues can be noted in the popular press as a whole.

The Non-Popular Press

Interest of the non-popular or professional American magazine press in Cuban affairs was fitful during the early years of that small republic's existence.[54] Real interest in the island was not displayed until after 1919, and then an increasingly greater number of articles appeared. At first they were inclined to be over-optimistic concerning Cuba's economic future, but late in the twenties they grew more cautious and a trifle pessimistic. It might be noted that the period of greatest interest, accidentally or otherwise, coincided with the investment boom in Cuban bonds.

From the beginning of the century the non-popular periodicals examined the new island republic somewhat curiously, and from a predominately non-political angle. An early article in *Moody's* magazine described the sugar industry minutely, and stressed its soundness and excellent business prospects. The author's conclusion was frank: "That the industry will be monopolized sooner or later by the people from the States is an assured fact."[55] The likelihood did not alarm the author in the least. He did not mention, however, island politics, revolutions, intervention, or any other controversial considerations as deterrents to investment. Another author for the same magazine supplied the reading public with his views on at least some of these. He heartily approved, without militancy, of intervention in Cuba for the protection of American investments.[56] He did not hazard any guesses regarding the economic or political

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[54] The following magazines, published in New York unless otherwise indicated, were used in the preparation of this section: *American Bar Association Journal* (Chicago); *American Journal of International Law; American Industries; The Americas; The Annalist; Bankers; Barron's; Commerce and Finance; Commercial and Financial Chronical; Communist; Credit Monthly; Export Trade and Finance; Facts About Sugar; Forbes; Foreign Policy Reports; Hispanic-American Historical Review* (Durham, N. C.); *Index; Inter-American; Moody's; Nation's Business* (Washington); *World Review* (Mount Morris, Ill.)

[55] Henry Hale, "The Cuban Sugar Situation," *Moody's*, II (September, 1906), No. 4, 380–386.

[56] Franklin Wood, "Our Stake in Cuba," *Moody's*, II (October, 1906), No. 5, 550–555.

future of the island, but an editorial in the same issue supplied an opinion on this matter. It viewed the 1906 intervention with calmness. "Intervention and possible subjugation will be expensive," wrote the editorialist, "but they are a part of the price we must pay for colonialism and imperialism and for our failure to do the natural thing by Cuba; that is to commercially annex her by permitting the free exchange of her products for ours."[57] But the same writer had no such pat solution for the political part of the problem: "Possibly the whole matter will be settled in the near future, by the citizens of Cuba voting for annexation to the United States and by our adding a new star to our firmament. Forcible annexation should never be thought of by our people."[58]

In April, 1909, *The American Journal of International Law* concerned itself with American foreign policy and Cuba. This periodical, published by a society of which Elihu Root was the president, favorably reviewed the part played by the United States in maintaining Cuban independence.[59]

After the 1909 withdrawal of our troops, Cuban affairs went into an eclipse as far as the non-popular periodical press was concerned. In 1917, James Brown Scott, writing for *The American Journal of International Law,* approved the fact that the United States had refrained (up to the time he had written his editorial, at any rate) from intervening in Cuba. Still a reader gains the distinct impression that the approval stemmed not from a rejection of intervention on moral grounds, but rather because it might put the Cuban Liberal Party in power, as it had done in 1909. He declared that the United States did not wish to intervene, and did not allow itself to be forced to intervene because of the misconduct of rebels. He was also of the firm opinion that the United States had no designs on Cuba.[60]

In 1919, *The Americas* (published by the National City Bank of New York) carried a laudatory article on Cuba by John H. Allen. This author painted a lovely picture of Cuba: unlimited natural resources, unparalleled beauty, "progressive and intelligent leadership," and excellent business possibilities in multiple fields of en-

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57 "The Cuban Crisis," *Moody's,* II (October, 1906), No. 5, 473.

58 *Ibid.*

59 "The Restoration of Cuban Self-Government," *The American Journal of International Law,* III (April, 1909), No. 2, 431–434.

60 James Brown Scott, "Attitude of the United States Toward Political Disturbances in Cuba," *American Journal of International Law,* XI (April, 1917), No. 2, 419–423.

deavor.[61] The author, it should be added, said nothing about Cuban revolutionary proclivities, single crop economy, or graft.

When the Cuban economy seemed to be on the skids in 1920, and the moratorium on its debt was an established fact, many businessmen began to regard Cuba with apprehension. Seeking to allay the fears of its readers, *American Industries,* published for the National Association of Manufacturers, ran a series of articles designed to minimize accounts of Cuba's economic difficulties. In fact, one article by the Cuban minister[62] carried a boxed-in notation which read: "This article should be carefully read by all having dealings with Cuban merchants at the present time in order to maintain a correct viewpoint as to the essential industrial and commercial soundness of the country, despite temporary financial troubles." The notation was signed by the same person who was editing the series on Cuba, namely, William M. Benney of the National Association of Manufacturers. In January, 1925, Benney wrote another article designed to encourage interest and trade with Cuba. The article's lead declared: "All auguries are favorable for a year of safe and sane prosperity for the Republic and a fine era of reconstruction is at hand during which connections for the next decade must be formed."[63]

An editorialist for the *Annalist* held similar views. It will be remembered that the price of sugar leveled off and even raised slightly in 1923–1924 following the disastrous fall of the preceding two years. The respite was only a lull, to be followed by another catastrophic price drop and an economic depression. So the editorialist of the *Annalist,* who, in February, 1923, viewed Cuba's economic future as being prosperous and relatively free from economic worry, was afflicted by the same malady common to many prognosticators: misjudgment.[64] Or was it his deliberate design, to create favorable market conditions for dumping Cuban securities?

In the following year, *Commerce and Finance* carried an article which, unlike so many of its kindred, recognized that much was left to be desired as far as Cuban politics were concerned. The commentator found a convenient whipping boy. He placed the blame

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[61] John H. Allen, "Team Work Between America and Cuba Has Paid Well for Both," *The Americas,* V (July, 1919), No. 10, 22–27.

[62] Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, "Cuba as Purveyor and Customers," *American Industries,* XXI (November, 1920), No. 4, 33–34.

[63] William M. Benney, "Economic Reawakening of Cuba," *American Industries,* XXIII (January, 1923), No. 6, 38–39.

[64] "The Commerce Department and the Nation's Business," *Annalist,* XXI (February 19, 1923), No. 527, 282–283.

for Cuba's political troubles at the feet of Uncle Sam, for turning the island loose without adequate political training. The better element of Cuban society did not vote, the author declared, because of the pigsty-politics; hence the worst elements of the population controlled the government of the island. Nevertheless, in spite of political problems, the writer was very pleased concerning Cuba's economic future.[65]

Even in 1925, when the island was experiencing real economic straits, optimism was strong. Another officer from the National Association of Manufacturers wrote a glowing article. In spite of the past depression everything pointed to greater prosperity of the Republic, he declared. He recalled how past Cuban administrations had had difficulty with public finance, and generously acknowledged that those past regimes "were somewhat given to extravagance," but the author would have his readers believe that "them days is gone forever." Again, it should be noted, the author overlooked graft and corruption.[66]

By 1926, writers began to admit, all was not well with Cuban economy. *Credit Monthly* ran an article summing up a survey of credit bureaus in various industries. It found conditions economically unsatisfactory and prospects for the following year to be not any brighter.[67] An even more pessimistic view was expressed the following year by *Export Trade and Finance*. It urged in its editorial column caution in the extension of credit to the island.[68]

Later the same year, an article in the *American Bar Association Journal* directed attention to the changes in the constitution made by Machado. The author approved of the lengthening of the terms in office of national elective officers as being a relief from the unrest and turmoil brought to Cuba by elections. He believed that the United States could profit by watching the outcome of the plan.[69]

In January, 1928, a Henrietta W. Livermore "rediscovered" the economic possibilities of Cuba. She stressed the untouched natural resources, and the progress of public works building. However,

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65 H. H. Pike, Jr., "Cuba's Political Weakness and Economic Prosperity," *Commerce and Finance*, XIII (January 7, 1924), No. 2, 83–84.

66 Manuel González, "The Growing Pearl of the Antilles and Its New President," *American Industry*, XXV (May, 1925), No. 10, 11–12.

67 W. S. Swingle, "Cuban Conditions," *Credit Monthly*, XXVIII (February, 1926), No. 2, 18+.

68 "What is the Matter With Cuba?" *Export Trade and Finance*, XVII (April 30, 1927), No. 7, 7–10.

69 Gordon Ireland, "Amendment vs. Revolution: Changing Cuba's Constitution," *American Bar Association Journal*, XIII (November, 1927), No. 11, 617–621.

she carefully avoided politics, Machado, curtailment of civil liberty, or anything else controversial.[70] But the Cuban economy had been in the doldrums too long. Contributors began to recognize the lamentable condition of the island's business.[71] One author declared that if Cuba continued to diversify her economy, then the future could be much brighter.[72] The following year the same author reported on the island's depressed business conditions, but this time made no attempt to color his article with optimism. He praised Machado for what little progress had been made, economically, but made no mention of the dictator's despotism.[73] Another author viewed the future with critical eye, and decided that for at least the next "year or two," there would be little economic sunshine for Cuba. This author also praised Machado, and repeated a favorable comparison made by another writer, to wit, Machado as the Mussolini of the Caribbean. However, he did recognize Machado's restrictions on freedom of the press and of speech with the unelaborated reference of a single line. The writer dismissed the dictator's prostitution of the constitution with the observation: "Some political purists question the constitutionality of the arrangement, but the majority accept the new shuffle."[74]

Meanwhile opposition to the high tariff on Cuban sugar was gaining adherents. M. Carlisle Minor, writing in *Barron's,* declared that a higher tariff would drive the already-depressed economy into complete ruin. It would, he asserted, kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. In the first place, the higher tariff would end revenue from this source, as it would make it completely unprofitable to ship sugar to the United States. Secondly, investors (and the author reminded his readers of the many small investors as well as the National City Bank), would be wiped out, not only those in sugar manufacturing and related industries, but also those indirectly influenced by the blow to the Cuban economy. Thirdly, Cuba, one of the principal markets for finished products from the United States, would be unable to buy. For final consideration, he suggested that the United States had a moral obligation, based on the

[70] Henrietta W. Livermore, "Cuba Takes the Limelight," *World Review,* V (January 16, 1928), No. 15, 229.

[71] See: Frank W. C. Timson, "A Close-up of Cuba," *Credit Monthly,* XXX (May, 1928), No. 5, 28–29.

[72] B. F. Griffin, "Cuba's Crisis," *Barron's,* IX (March 18, 1929), No. 11, 19+.

[73] B. F. Griffin, "Cuba's Newest Crisis," *Barron's,* X (March 10, 1930), No. 10, 20.

[74] Merryle Stanley Rukeyser, "Will Cuban Sugar Come Back?" *Forbes,* XXVI (July 1, 1930), No. 1, 20–22.

Platt Amendment, to see that Cuba was granted exceptional rights and privileges. Free trade was not necessary, but any further increase in the tariff would break faith with Cuba.[75]

The following year, *Index,* published by the New York Trust Company, in an editorial on Cuba, suggested a reciprocal tariff reduction as a solution to the island's economic problem, and a way by which the sugar industry would again realize prosperity.[76]

About the latter part of 1931, the non-popular magazine press began to consider that perhaps the politics of the island might furnish another approach to the Cuban problem. Lawrence Stafford led off with a cautious article in *Barron's.* He reviewed the situation, and came to the conclusion that Machado, as dictator, was causing unrest on the island, and as such was harmful to investment interests and business. However, he was hopeful about future conditions and seemed to think that reforms might be achieved which would clear up the political unrest.[77] An equally cautious editorial in *Commerce and Finance* came to a somewhat similar conclusion, stating that if Machado was overthrown, Americans should not fret, as such an event amounted to about the same thing as an election in the United States. Almost wistfully, however, the editorial pointed out that Machado was "safe" as to the moratorium, and of course any successor would be uncertain on this consideration. The writer, it should be said, did not express any moral judgment or opposition to Machado.[78] For *Barron's,* Rupert Bentham, in December, 1932, went so far as to praise Cuba's "punctual fulfillment of debt obligations, balanced budget, [and] economic revolution," but carefully abstained from any mention of politics or despotism.[79]

The Communist press, of course, was screaming loudly for revolution. One article in *The Communist,* bristling with clichés such as "bourgeois opposition," "exploited masses," "working class," and "Yankee imperialism," clamored for Machado's scalp. It equally denounced the Nationalist Union (a non-Communist Cuban Party also seeking to overthrow Machado) as only wishing to replace Machado with themselves and to secure "recognition and sup-

[75] M. Carlisle Minor, "Cuba and Congress," *Barron's,* X (January 20, 1930), No. 3, 5+.

[76] "Cuba, A Period of Economic Adjustment," *Index,* XI (July, 1931), No. 7, 141–147.

[77] Lawrence Stafford, "Machado, Politics and Sugar," *Barron's,* XI (August 17, 1931), No. 33, 10.

[78] "Cuba in Revolt," *Commerce and Finance,* XX (August 19, 1931), No. 33, 1201.

[79] Rupert Bentham, "Cuba Maintains Her Credit," *Barron's,* XII (December 19, 1932), No. 51, 11.

port of Yankee imperialism. . . ." The Communist party alone represented the true aims of the peasantry and the working classes, the article declared, and they, the Communists, were attempting a change much more significant and beneficial than the "opportunistic" aims of the National Union.[80]

Commerce and Finance expressed some enthusiasm about the overthrow of Machado, but at the same time myopically viewed the dictator's prime offense as his failure to get trade concessions for Cuba. Hence, the editorial commented: "the evil that men do lives after them." The writer also expressed cautious approval of de Céspedes.[81] Another magazine, in its editorial was favorable to the Céspedes regime, but viewed Cuba's future as fraught with labor troubles.[82]

The Communists had their own interpretation of Machado's downfall. One author claimed that the strike of the workers, some peasants, and the poorer petty bourgeois had "made it impossible for American imperialism to maintain Machado in power any longer." "The Roosevelt Administration was thus compelled to take out Machado." The author, by inference, credited the Communists with having furnished the drive and direction of the revolt, and attacked the de Céspedes Administration, declaring it had merely replaced Machado as the tool of American imperialists.[83]

More realistic was an article by Raymond Leslie Buell in *Foreign Policy Reports,* written just before Machado's permanent "leave of absence." He suggested as possible solutions to the Cuban problems: first, political reorganization of the country; second, revision of the reciprocity treaty and other measures to insure access of American markets for Cuban sugar; and third, a reconsideration of the Platt Amendment. The real effectiveness of the author's suggestions, however, was impaired by his excessive cautiousness and qualifying statements, which caused the article to sound like comments of another person, repeated by a milquetoast.[84]

At the end of the period, an editorial in *Facts About Sugar* well exemplified the cautiousness of the non-popular periodicals for the entire period. In spite of the strongly leftist attitude of President

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[80] O. Rodríguez, "The Present Struggle in Cuba," *Communist,* X (November, 1931), No. 10, 928–932.

[81] "Cuba Libre," *Commerce and Finance,* XXII (August 16, 1933), No. 33, 708.

[82] "Machado Regime Overthrown in Cuba," *Facts About Sugar,* XXVIII (September, 1933), No. 9, 356.

[83] William Simons, "Background of Recent Events in Cuba," *Communist,* XII (September, 1933), No. 9, 902–921.

[84] Raymond Leslie Buell, "The Caribbean Situation: Cuba and Haiti," *Foreign Policy Reports,* IX (June 21, 1933), No. 8, 82–92.

Grau San Martín, and the pronounced unrest of the island, this editorial expressed no moral judgment in reviewing the situation. No mention was made of the United States foreign policy.[85] The editorial did, however, express somewhat pessimistic views concerning the future, a tendency not common to the press during the entire period.

Generally speaking, the non-popular magazine press was more conservative than its popular counterpart. With the obvious exception of *The Communist,* the non-popular periodicals were disinclined to report the seamier side of Cuban affairs, or anything that would tend to discredit the United States. Our right to intervene for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens was not questioned. The non-popular magazines, again with the exclusion of *The Communist,* were quiet, dignified, and not inclined to display gaudy titles. If unpleasantries were reported, they were not elaborated on or made sensational. If a writer waxed enthusiastic, it was over Cuban commercial, industrial, or agricultural prospects, never an exposé of corruption, or an indictment of Cuban political shortcomings. Island politics were more often ignored than reported. Entirely absent was criticism of American foreign policy or the State Department. The popular magazine press stressed political aspects and superficially examined the economics of the island republic. Contrariwise, the non-popular periodicals could be depended upon for a generous presentation of statistics, and frequently minute examinations of the major features in the Cuban economy. By far the most prominent feature held in common by the individual members of the non-popular periodical press, was the economic overtones of every article and editorial on Cuba.

By any standard of evaluation, the non-popular magazine coverage of Cuban affairs was unsatisfactory. Many articles and editorials were misleading, and others distorted their content by reporting only half the truth. The organizations publishing some of these magazines, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the National City Bank, and the New York Trust Company, represent some of the world's greatest titans of finance. In view of the fact that they were in a position to obtain at least as much information as was gathered by the popular magazine press, any plea for special consideration on the basis of bad judgment is indefensible, and ridiculous.

ROBERT B. MERRIFIELD

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85 "New Government Takes Cuban Helm," *Facts About Sugar,* XXVIII (October, 1933), No. 10, 376+.

Eugène Ney's Mississippi Travels 1830

The American travels of Comte Eugéne Ney have remained almost unknown. This third son of the famous Marshall sailed from Brest April 28, 1828, and arrived at the island of St. Pierre twenty-nine days later. On June 5 he went to Newfoundland where he stayed until the end of September. Halifax was his next stop. By October, 1828, he was visiting Joseph Bonaparte in Bordentown, New Jersey. How he was occupied during the next fifteen months remains unknown. He sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, for Cuba on the last day of January, 1830, and remained in that island until March 4. He then returned to the United States, traveled overland from Pensacola to New Orleans, thence by steamboat to St. Louis and by mailcoach to Louisville. Probably he returned to France late in 1830 or early in the next year. It is with the travels in the southern and western United States that the present article is concerned.[1]

When, on his return home, the young man wrote up his travels for publication, he followed customary procedure by interlarding his own observations with passages of information extracted from works in print. In the account of his western trip, for instance, he described the Indian mode of buffalo hunting, which he had not seen, and reported on the importance of the steamboat traffic in the United States. In historical reference he was frequently wrong: he had Mobile founded by the Spaniards and gave founding dates of 1660 for Ste. Genevieve and for St. Louis 1664, which is probably a typographical error for 1764; he described the Lewis and Clark Expedition as taking place over the years 1805–1808. We do not,

[1] The facts in this paragraph are drawn principally from a series of contributions by Ney to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*: "Voyage en Amérique—I; Terre-Neuve. II, La Nouvelle Écosse," Tome I (1831), 242–294; "Voyage en Amérique: III, L'Ile de Cuba," Tome IV (1831), 445–472; and "Voyage sur le Mississippi," Serie II, Tome I (1833), 469–488. These page references are from the second (reprint) edition of the *Revue*. My working copy of the "Voyage sur le Mississippi," however, is the original issue, described in Frank Monaghan, *French Travelers in the United States, 1765–1932*, New York, The New York Public Library, 1933, 104. For the reference to Joseph Bonaparte see Georges Bertin, *Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique*, Paris, 1893, 217 n. Although Ney did not give the year of his western trip, internal evidence established it as 1830. Ney (1808–1845) was then twenty-two.

however, read such travelers now for the versions of history or the useful information they borrowed for incorporation in their narratives but for the report of what they actually saw and experienced. During his six weeks in the south and west Ney did not discover anything startlingly new, but he did set down some impressions of travel and some local details to which it is worth calling attention.

He crossed from Havana to Pensacola in the United States corvette *Falmouth,* arriving on May 9, 1830. After two days he left Pensacola with some traveling companions[2] in a two-horse stage. They passed through seventy-two miles of magnificent forests on the way to Blakeley. The road, Ney pointed out with mild irony, could not have cost Alabama very much, for the state had been content merely to cut the trees and leave the stumps in the ground. That first night the travelers spent in a miserable cabin where they were given milk and cornbread for their supper; more than once they were awakened by the howling of wolves. By five the next afternoon they were at Blakeley, a village on the left shore of Mobile Bay, near the mouths of the Tombigbee and the Alabama. The following morning they crossed in a steamboat to the attractive town of Mobile. There they found waiting a large stagecoach drawn by four handsome horses which carried them forty-six miles to Pascagoula on Lake Borgne just in time for them to leap on board the steamboat *Mount-Vernon.* This body of water and Lake Pontchartrain, too, with their immense stretches of muddy water covered by thick dull clouds, had a sadder aspect than one could imagine, thought Ney; only the pelicans seemed to like it. Towards noon, however, they arrived at the canal six miles from New Orleans and were transferred to a horse-drawn boat, which in an hour brought them into the city. "The alligators, which warmed themselves in the sun all along the bayou, were not at all frightened, and plunged tranquilly into the water at our approach."

New Orleans with its French-named streets reminded young Ney of home, but the city was sad and deserted because of the extreme heat and the fear of yellow fever, which, he declared, the Creoles blessed because it put the Yankees to flight. However, it was the Yankees who gave life to the city and without them the town was empty. He stayed only twelve days, which would have seemed a very long time to him had he not met some acquaintances from the north.

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[2] He referred to them only as "MM. d'O. . ."

Without regret on May 25 he took passage on the *Neptune*[3] for a ten-day trip up to St. Louis. A cannon-shot announced the departure, and from the boats and from the levee covered with idlers arose three "hurrahs." The best boats on the Mississippi, Ney declared, were on the Louisville run; they carried the *beau monde* north on the way to Saratoga, Niagara, and Canada. On the St. Louis boats one met only merchants and immigrants. The traveler had glimpses of Baton Rouge, the mouth of Red River, and Natchez high on its bluff. Snags, sawyers, and rafts he saw and described. Before he had seen the Mississippi he imagined it in the terms of *Atala,* but now he discovered that Chateaubriand had painted it in *riantes couleurs.* He looked in vain for the scenic details so vividly described in the famous romance. This voyage was dull. Beautiful forests lined the huge river, but their monotony was wearisome. Sometimes, on a branch overhanging the water, a wild turkey might be seen, sleeping or sick, which started too late to fly away on the approach of the boat and fell to the deck overcome by the steam. Often they met barges laden with stock for the New Orleans market. Occasionally in the distance they would see a steamboat. It was like a meeting at sea; they would watch it approach; the bell would be rung in salute; the passengers would try to read the name of the boat as it passed; and soon it would disappear. Once a day they would stop to wood. Gradually they passed the mouth of the Arkansas, Memphis, Little Prairie. At New Madrid they saw the wreck of the *Caledonia,* which had blown up a month earlier with great loss of life.[4]

Ney was somewhat contemptuous of his fellow travelers. There were ten or twelve persons on board with whom he exchanged occasionally a "fine morning" or "beautiful afternoon." The remainder of the passengers, however, consisted of the theatrical company of

[3] Possibly this was the 200-ton boat of that name built at Pittsburgh in 1828 and later snagged at the mouth of the Ohio, James Hall, *Statistics of the West,* Cincinnati, 1836, 259. The notice in the *Missouri Republican,* June 8, 1830, of its departure from St. Louis named J. Barrett as master.

[4] "By a gentleman who came passenger in the steam boat *North America,* we learn, that the steam boat *Caledonia,* on her passage from New Orleans to Louisville, when about six miles below New Madrid, burst one of her boilers. She had upwards of 500 deck and cabin passengers. The number of the killed is variously estimated. Immediately after the explosion, a cry of fire originated, and from a belief entertained that a quantity of powder was on board, about 25 of the deck passengers jumped overboard, and horrid to relate, two only of whom reached the shore, one of them was so much exhausted that he expired shortly afterwards; the loss of the yawl, which had been stolen a few nights previous, rendering it impossible for those on board to give them any assistance." *St. Louis Beacon,* April 29, 1830.

New Orleans on its way to a season at St. Louis. Nothing in them, said Ney, caused us the least desire to make their acquaintance.[5] The only incident to break the monotony of the trip was the falling into the river of a mulatto steward. Owing to Ney he was properly rescued.

On the morning of June 2 the *Neptune* reached the mouth of the Ohio. Now the banks of the Mississippi grew more picturesque. At Ste. Genevieve the travelers saw many Indians who spoke passable French. Ney and his companions were taken to the house of an old man who had been born in France and whose house was the rendezvous of the Indians. Here they met a yet older compatriot who was delighted to see them. He seized the opportunity to recite in detail his life as a sailor, his combats with the Maroquins, and his captivity in the Barbary States. The Indians talked about hunting the bear, the panther, and the bison.

When they reembarked, a Delaware, two Chippewas, and several other chiefs boarded the boat to go to St. Louis to receive the price of the lands they had sold to the United States. Another new passenger was an old French fur trader; Ney listened with great interest to his tales of travel on the Columbia River, in California, and other places to which his business had taken him.

The *Neptune* arrived at St. Louis on June 4.[6] This attractive town had then about eight or nine thousand people and possibly eleven hundred houses, Ney wrote.[7] Landing on the Illinois shore, they crossed by team-ferry-boat.[8] The view of St. Louis as they ap-

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[5] This was a company under management of Jackson Gray and James S. Rowe. According to a writer in the *St. Louis Beacon* June 10, 1830, Mrs. Rowe, Miss Placide, and *Old* Gray were among the favorites recently returned to St. Louis. Others on the *Neptune* might have included Mrs. Gray, John Gilbert, Mrs. Mary Ann McClure, Joseph M. Field, and Antonio Mondelli, scenic artist. Ney and his companions had no opportunity to judge the skill of these actors for the opening (*She Stoops to Conquer*) was on June 12, the day after the Frenchmen left St. Louis. For this company consult William G. B. Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932, 110–120,

[6] Since Ney was so contemptuous of the players, it is amusing to note in the "William Clark Diary," edited by Louise Barry, *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* XVI (1948), 395, that on June 4, 1830, "Mr. Caldwells Company of players arrive from Orleans" whereas the diarist made no mention of Ney and his companions.

[7] The United States Census for 1830 gave St. Louis (city) 4977 inhabitants, and city and county together about 14,000.

[8] In the original printing of the *Revue* (p. 535) a footnote explained that a "Teamboat" (the English word had been used in the text) was a ferry pulled by horses, but in the reprint edition this word *teamboat* was corrected to *steamboat.* James Stuart, who visited St. Louis late in April a few weeks before Ney did, crossed the Mississippi in a steam ferry-boat commanded by Captain Wiggins; James Stuart, *Travels in North America,*

proached was charming. "Its rose [brick] and white houses stretch for two miles along the river and its bank is crowded with steamboats and boats of all sorts." The young Frenchman's great desire was to go buffalo hunting; he had been assured that he would find buffalo very near to town. He discovered that the animals had not been in the neighborhood of St. Louis for fifty years and that he must go six hundred miles up the Missouri to find any. Again he was to be disappointed. Some steamboats had a few days earlier gone up to Council Bluffs, but apparently none were advertised for departure at this time.

He amused himself for a week as well as he could. One day he drove to St. Charles, crossing the Missouri, the "wildest and dirtiest river that one can imagine," by steam ferry.[9] He stayed overnight in the old French village and then, as expected of all visitors, he went out six miles to see the Mamelles and from the top of those hills to see at the same time the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Illinois Rivers.[10] In St. Louis he examined the mounds, crossing the river to look at Monk's Mound near Cahokia. He visited Jefferson Barracks below the city where he was surprised to find eight hundred troops.[11]

His most interesting visit, however, was that to the "venerable governor Clark" and his museum. When Clark first offered to show the collection to Ney, the young man's curiosity was not greatly piqued, for he knew what passed for museums in America. The passion for museums, he had found, was universal; everyone had to have his own cabinet of curiosities. A crocodile mounted on a ceiling and an old organ in a corner generally constituted such a collection "with the pompous inscription MUSEUM in letters of gold over the door." But he found to his surprise that Clark's collection was very fine; it contained all kinds of rare skins, Indian costumes and weapons, portraits of Indian chiefs, minerals, fossils, and other specimens, chiefly gathered by Clark himself during his

Edinburgh, 1833, II, 310. Apparently Wiggins was operating both types of ferries: he had horse-boats named the *Sea Serpent, Rhinoceros,* and *Antelope* and a steamboat named *St. Clair;* a fifth boat, the *Ibex* (type unknown) was added to his ferry-fleet in 1830; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County,* 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1883, II, 1070–1071.

[9] This river Stuart crossed by *team*-ferry boat; *Travels in North America,* II, 323. For an account of Stuart, see W. H. G. Armytage, "James Stuart's Journey up the River Mississippi in 1830," MID-AMERICA, n. s. XX (April, 1949), 92–100.

[10] *Ibid.,* II, 321–329; Stuart described St. Charles and the Mamelle Prairie as he saw them late in April, 1830.

[11] Stuart, six weeks earlier, gave the number of troops as 500; (*Ibid.,* II, 329); the Census of 1830 reported 803.

travels while the remainder were the gifts from many different tribes of Indians.[12]

On June 11 Ney left St. Louis to travel overland to Louisville. The prairies on the route to Vincennes he found magnificent; the wind blowing over the tall grass made it wave like the ocean. But the road was very bad.[13] They had to cross thousands of creeks and little rivers swollen by recent rains. Bridges in the west, he declared, were commonly made of timbers laid side by side, not fastened down, without guard rail and only just wide enough for the stage coach. The bold American driver, however, was never daunted; he crossed at a gallop, for it did not matter to him if his passengers arrived safe and sound so long as his precious leather mail bag came through in good condition. It was on this route that shortly before the Bishop of St. Louis had almost lost his life when a bridge had given way. Horses, stage, and bishop had gone into the water.

On the second day the traveler sighted a head of about fifty deer; through his glass he watched them bound off over the prairie. Frequently he saw prairie hens and other game birds. About six in the evening the stage broke down, but for such an emergency the driver was always prepared. At ten in the morning on the third day they arrived at Vincennes and left at two in the after-

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12 For Clark's Museum consult John Francis McDermott, "Museums in Early Saint Louis," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin,* IV (April, 1948), 129–133. There Ney's visit is incorrectly dated 1833.

13 Stuart made the last part of this trip (Vincennes to Louisville) about four weeks earlier than Ney; *Travels in North America,* II, 432–433; his comments are of interest here: "We had to travel all night. A great part of the road was hilly and rough, as bad, on the whole, as any that I have passed in a stage in the United States. On the first part of it near Vincennes we saw some nice villas, and a good deal of old cleared land; but, from the time it became dark, the road was bad, and the drivers proceeded not without fear. I do not know how we could have gone on, but from the light afforded by the fire-flies, which was peculiarly brilliant. We were frequently obliged to stop and walk some miles, especially in the woods. We had two forks of the White River to cross in boats. The night being so gloomy, two drivers were required for the four horses, the passengers carrying lights within the carriage. The drivers, whose names were Lynch and Macneile, were very civil, and asked us to carry lights, saying to us, 'in such a case as this, gentlemen, we must be friendly.' The stopping-places were but indifferent. We stopped at Mount Pleasant, breakfasted at Paoli, and dined at Greenville, twelve miles from Albany in Indiana, three miles below Louisville, on the opposite side of the Ohio. After dinner we got a skiff to shipping-port. The view from the tops of the hills above Albany, of the finely wooded and precipitous fore-ground of the river, the towns on both sides, and the state of Kentucky beyond it, is one of the most splendid and extensive I have seen in America, and compensated in a great degree for the fatigue of the journey from Vincennes."

noon. Five o'clock brought them to the ferry across White River, and four hours later they reached Washington, Indiana.

There the coach was taken over by a little driver who was *entre deux vins,* as is almost always the case with drivers in western United States, noted the traveler. He drove at a gallop with only a pale lantern to light the way in the dark night. Nevertheless, they arrived safely an hour later at Snake-town; the least hamlet, even of two houses, Ney observed, in America is called a town. This place, it seems, was infested with congos, water mocassins, and rattlesnakes. The supper-stop at Snake-town was brief. The driver, Ney declared, fearing he had not given sufficient proof of his boldness, swallowed a large drink of whiskey. At midnight the passengers were roused by his suddenly stopping the vehicle and calling out, to quote Ney, "*Oh gentlemen!* recommandez vos âmes á Dieu, car nous allons traverser a damn'd frightful little old river." They had reached the flooding water of the east branch of White River. It was with great difficulty that the little ferry boat was made to carry them over the rushing stream. At three in the morning they were once more on the road. Their young driver had been replaced by an old one, but one who was no less bold and no less drunk. However, except for wetting their feet in suddenly fording a flooded creek, they arrived without further incident at New Albany on the evening of June 14. A ferry carried them over to Louisville, and the next day they departed for Pittsburgh.

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Notes and Comments

Towards an Understanding of the U.S.S.R., by Michael T. Florinsky, originally printed in 1939, has been brought out in a revised edition by Macmillan. Two of the introductory chapters of the first edition have been omitted, along with a number of the useless soviet regulations for political nominations. Much practical material has been added. The second chapter explains the philosophy and nature of the communist state. The next deals with the constitution and the political practices, which are closely allied with the economic planning, taxation, and destruction of private property and initiative. The two chapters on The State in Business can be interpreted to manifest the soviet machine as a capitalistic state with labor as its collateral and capital assets.

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The American Record in the Far East, 1945–1951, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, was published by Macmillan last month. In this book, whose nature the preface says is that of an essay rather than an extensive or definitive work, the author indicates the background, the principles, and the conduct of our foreign relations in the far east from V-J Day to this year. He frankly states his inability to be fully objective, for he has deep respect for our constitutional government and Christian principles and is unalterably opposed to communistic forms. In spite of this profound profession of bias, Professor Latourette states "the American record" in a quite objective manner. True to the professional method he carefully outlines his plan of attack on what anyone will admit in an enormously complex subject, with the aim to satisfy the intelligent average American.

After two introductory chapters, the third expresses "The Complex Factors, Old and New, which Confronted the United States after the Defeat of Japan," such as the pressure of ever increasing populations upon subsistance, low standards of living, revolutionary unrest, nationalism, desires for independence, unprepared political leadership, communism, and the various tensions suggested by the names of Russia, Japan, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Nations. Chapter four answers the question: "Did the United States have a consistent, comprehensive policy after the surrender of Japan?" Beyond the confusion and some deviations

and modifications Professor Latourette sees several principles of foreign policy to which we consistently adhered. We tried to aid the far easterners "to achieve their own goals and ambitions in their own way"; we tried to contain communism, by aid and by armed force; we tried after 1945 to avoid bad effects on Europe, which might grow out of our interest in far Eastern countries; finally, we stressed the obligations of our membership in the United Nations. The following chapters take you country by country through the Orient to reveal how the principles were applied, or varied according to factors peculiar to the country.

And what is the outcome? In these six years where have we failed and where have we succeeded? Professor Latourette gives only "A Tentative Appraisal of our record in the Far East" in his final brief chapter. We have not won the markets of the Far East. We appear defeated in China, and the verdict is undecided in India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indochina, and Indonesia. In Japan our success has been striking. The value of the program of armed force is doubtful. None of the countries is ready for democracy. Domestic unrest continues with each increase of population. And "Americans should not expect an early release from the Far East."

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A Dane by the name of Abram Markoe left the island of Saint Croix in the Danish West Indies and arrived in Philadelphia in 1770 or thereabout. He organized the colorful Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse, became its captain, and designated its flag. This was the first organized military command to march with George Washington after he was commissioned Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies, and the flag with thirteen stripes, designed by Markoe was the first "stars and stripes" of the United States (whether or not sewn by Betsy Ross). The whole account of this is told with good authority by William M. Markoe, in a sixteen page essay, *Historical Development of the American Flag,* published this year by Public Affairs Press, Washington 8, D. C. The author is a lineal descendant of the originator of the Markoe Flag. Abram Markoe, forced to resign his command in the Light Horse when the king of Denmark proclaimed neutrality in the war between Britain and the colonies, resigned officially, but unofficially continued on to the victorious conclusion. He gave a corner of his property in Philadelphia as a site for Washington's first residence, which was

built but not occupied by the president, who had moved to the new capital in the District of Columbia.

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The trend to write the histories of colleges and universities has brought forth some noteworthy volumes during the past year. *The University of South Carolina,* Volume I, *South Carolina College,* by Daniel Walker Hollis, was printed last year at the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia; *The University of Kentucky: Origin and Early Years,* by James F. Hopkins, published by the University of Kentucky Press, gives the story of the Lexington college from 1865 to 1910; the origin and early years of St. Mary's College, San Antonio, Texas, found a recounter in Joseph William Schmitz, who wrote *The Society of Mary in Texas,* (Naylor Company, San Antonio); and Ernest Carroll Moore traced the evolution of the University of Los Angeles from normal school to university in his *I Helped Make a University,* published by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles.

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A number of legal, ethical and moral questions arise when one considers the conquest of the Indians of the Americans by the European nations during the first three centuries after discovery and by the United States in the past century. What right did the white man have to invade Indian lands? What right to take the land, the gold, silver, peltries? What right to force the natives to labor? What right to tax the natives? These questions popped up in the time of Columbus and they continued even to this year when our federal courts are deciding cases in favor of Indian claimants of our western states.

Spain began to answer the questions about the rights of the Indians as soon as they arose, and gradually there emerged a code of laws pertaining to *encomenderos* and their wards. These laws might have been avoided or disobeyed had it not been for a higher law—the moral code. Priests of the various missionary orders had a stronger weapon for the protection of the rights of the Indians than all of the king's men. The conquerors, soldiers, settlers and merchants from Spain were Catholics and as such had to go to confession. To receive absolution they were bound to restore any unjustly gotten gains and repair any injustice done the natives. Even the kings were bound by the same law, nor could they or their ad-

ministrators be absolved in the case of unjust lawmaking or law enforcement.

The detailed legislation and the opinions on Indian rights are now published, as far as the Jesuits were concerned with the natives of Peru, in the documentary volume *Pareceres Juridicos en Asuntos de Indias, 1601–1718,* by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., under the auspices of the Pontifica Universidad Catolica del Peru, Lima, Peru.

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History of the Americas, Volume I, *The Colonial Americas,* by John Francis Bannon, has recently been published by McGraw-Hill, and the second volume is to appear in the near future. This is a textbook written primarily for orientating students of the junior college level in American history. As textbook format goes, this example is very good. The approach is the well-known "Greater America" concept of Herbert Eugene Bolton, to whom the author gives due credit. The plan of the volume, outlined in Chapter I, is simple: to trace the colonial developments of each of the European empires until such various times as the colonists of the Americas became independent. The maps, the reading lists, the lists of important dates, and the bibliography are quite satisfactory, and the style is brighter than that usually so painful to collegians.

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Toward the end of last year the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, published the *Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945–1949,* Edited by David Leroy Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications. This thick volume of over a thousand pages continues the policy of the Council of State of North Carolina, which has been to make available to the public the messages to the General Assembly, the public addresses, the appointments, the press releases, special messages, and occasional talks of the governors. A biographical sketch, "R. Gregg Cherry, 'The Iron Major,' " written by John Harden, private secretary to Governor Cherry, forms a fifty page introduction that is quite objective and quite as "folksy" as the biographee. The editing and printing are well done, and the candid camera and indexer play a good part in enhancing the value of the book.

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Washington's Official Map of Yorktown and *Washington's Inaugural Address of 1789* were published in August as National Archives Facsimiles Number 21 and Number 22. These publications of the National Archives and Records Service have been preceded by such other documentary facsimiles as the *Bill of Rights,* the *Emancipation Proclamation* and the *Declaration of Independence.* The recent reproductions are elaborate brochures, sixteen and a half by ten and a half inches, with heavy, colored paper covers. Each has five pages of introduction by unnamed authors, quite satisfactory for an understanding of the significance of the document. They will make becoming and instructive exhibits in classrooms and libraries, at the cost of seventy-five cents each.

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Germany's New Nazis, a paper-bound book of seventy-five pages, was prepared by The Anglo-Jewish Association, Woburn House, London, and was published this year by Philosophical Library, New York, and last year in Great Britain. It is a broad survey of the political parties in Western Germany written for popular purposes. It expresses the fear that some of the former Nazis who have been in administrative positions under the auspices of the Allied Powers, are organizing a second Nazidom. Names are given of political leaders imbued, according to the book, with Nazi principles and purposes. These leaders oppose other German administrators who are attempting to do away with Hitlerian anti-Semitism.

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Anyone wishing to know the details of the auctioning of the Oliver R. Barrett collection of Lincoln items will find them in a brief article by Paul M. Angle in *Chicago History* for the Spring, 1952. The Illinois State Library had agreed to purchase what was considered the greatest collection ever assembled by an individual for $220,000, but when the second installment could not be met, the Lincolniana were auctioned piece by piece in New York for $273,610. Elsewhere in the same number is a small facsimile of the first published map of the town of Chicago, which Mr. Angle attributes to the year 1834.

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The Southwestern Historical Quarterly in its July, 1952, number gives a fine example of what should be done by many editors of

local or sectional historical magazines. It presents "A Check List of Theses and Dissertations in Texas History Produced in the Department of History of the Universtiy of Texas, 1893–1951," as compiled and edited by H. Bailey Carroll and Milton R. Gutch. About five hundred titles of doctoral dissertations and master's theses are listed alphabetically author by author. The contents and classification of each is given according to the standard forms of bibliographers and librarians.

For years there have been suggestions that a check list along these lines be compiled from the files of all of the graduate schools of the United States. Here and there the suggestions have been acted upon to a degree, and lists of historical doctoral dissertations in progress, lists of those completed, lists of those completed in one or other university have been published or made available in mimeograph form. These attempts were made because of the obvious advantages to scholars and professors of a master list of the products of research over the country. The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London has familiarized British historians with the benefits of a service that has been envied by Americans for half a century.

It would be hazardous to guess the number of unpublished manuscripts which are now reposing in the libraries of universities of this country. Some with the same content, if not with the same title, have been used wittingly or unwittingly by different students to obtain degrees in separated schools. Added to these are the unpublished manuscripts read at local and national historical conventions and those of independent researchers who could not find an outlet for their findings either before an audience or in print. Despite the great number of titles what would have to be listed, and the cost, and the time to be spent compiling, no better project can be undertaken by universities and by local, state, and general historical societies, than that of listing and calendaring their manuscript contributions toward an ultimate, national check list.

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In the Spring, 1952, number *Minnesota History* began its thirty-third volume with a bright, new format, following somewhat that of *Wisconsin History.* A subtitle has been added to the attractive front cover: "The North Star State in Words and Pictures." In both the Spring and Summer numbers of this year the editors have lived up to their promise of lending more eye appeal and visual aid to

their readers. In the summer number Stewart Holbrook, writing under the title "Some Unwritten Minnesota Novels," gives a brief description of some characters and events in the history of Minnesota, that could readily become the bases of historical novels. Father Vincent Tegeder of the Order of St. Benedict has the second of his articles on "Pioneering Monks," describing the extension of his Order's activities from Collegeville to other centers in Minnesota and the Dakotas. The third article, "Wall Street Looks at the Agricultural Northwest," is a reproduction of an account written by a correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* in 1882. "Child Pioneer," for the youngsters, and "Lincoln's Sioux War Order," complete the contributions. The book review section is followed by a special section of Reading Hints for Minnesotans.

* * * *

The site of the first Jesuit mission in Ajacán, 1570–1571, has long been in dispute. Historians have leaned toward the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers as the possible scene of the martyrdom of the first eight Black Robes to settle in Virginia. In a preliminary, documentary article, "The Jesuit Mission in Ajacán," appearing in *Woodstock Letters,* 1951, (Woodstock, Maryland), Albert J. Loomie, S.J., presents in translation from the Spanish ten documents covering the missionary expedition, with the announcement of a monograph on the subject to be published by the Virginia Historical Society. According to a map and several footnotes in this preliminary study, the Segura mission landed first at Newport News, then moved up the James River to College Creek, then went overland two leagues to the York River where the mission was located on one or other bank of Queens Creek. Geographic and other details are to be given in the forthcoming monograph.

* * * *

"The Great Railroad Conspiracy," by Charles Hirschfeld, Assistant Professor of History at Michigan State College, is the contents of the June, 1952, number of *Michigan History.* It is a scholarly work of 123 pages, unbroken by chapter heads or subtitles but illustrated with maps and pictures of some of the leaders in the bitter fight between the Michigan Central Railroad and Jackson County farmers. The story began in 1846 when the Michigan legislature sold its railroads and granted a charter for a railroad from Detroit

to Kalamazoo to eastern capitalists for two million dollars. The investors were taking eight and nine percent dividends from profits on the road by 1849. Trouble first arose over the question: Did trains or cattle have the right of way? When cows were killed abundantly, farmers began to enjoy the "good clean sport" of derailing trains and damaging rolling stock and other railroad property and personnel. The account then becomes the story of Abel F. Fitch, tavern owner and real estate promoter, who conspired to destroy the railroad, was tried with his fellows and convicted. It is all very interesting.

* * * *

With the cost of printing and newsprint skyrocketing in this country while European publishers are striving pitifully to survive, Americans, bursting into print on the slightest provocation, are publishing too many "luxury" books, brochures, pamphlets, and articles. On this point, Frederick D. Kershner, Jr., in a book review in *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* July, 1952, remarks: "How much scholarly cake, even well-made cake, can we afford, when our brethren are wondering about the bread supply itself?"

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXIV

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.

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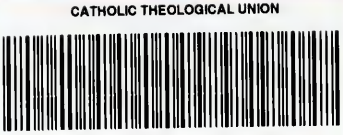

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